

Herod and Pilate reconciled:
 OR,
THE CONCORD OF
PAPIST AND PURITAN (A-
 gainst Scripture, Fathers, Councils, and other
Orthodoxall Writers) for the Coercion,
 Deposition, and Killing
 of **KINGS.**

Discovered by
David Owen Batchelour of Diuinitie,
 and Chaplaine to the right Honourable Lord Viscount
HADINGTON.

*Tunc inter se concordant, cum in perniciem insti conspirant, non
 quia se amant, sed quia cum qui amandus erat simul ode-
 runt. August. in Psal. 36. concion. 2.*

T. B. U. V. A. N.



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TO THE RIGHT HON-
NOVRABLE, SIR IOHN RAMSET
Knight, Lord Vicount Hadington, one of the most Ho-
nourable Gentlemen of the Kings Maiesties bed-
chamber, my singular good Lord,
and Master.

I Did suppose (*my very good Lord*) that
the seemable opposition of *Papists* and
Puritane, against the *Protestants*, concer-
ning the *supremacie Ecclesiasticall*, and *De-
position of Kings*, might haue beene con-
triuied into a fewe sheetes of paper;
which I finde both tedious, and intricate: because the
opponents, (though they agree against *Kings*, as *Herod*
and *Pilate* did against *Christ*) are at diuers irreconcilable
iarrs among themselues. And no maruell, *quia menda-
cij multiplex diuortium*: Liers neuer agree in one tale.
There are among the *Papists* three different opinions
concerning the *Popes* power ouer *Kings*. The first opini-
on (which ^a *Alexander Cauerius* holdeth) is, that the
Pope hath absolute power ouer all the world, both in
Ecclesiasticall, and *Politically* things. The second opini-
on is *Bellarmines*, ^b who affirmeth, that though the *Pope*
haue not meere temporall power ouer *Kings*, and king-
domes, *directly*; yet hath he *supreame* authoritie to
dispose of the *Temporalities* of all *Christians*, as well
Kings,

^a Alexand. Car.
de potest. Rom.
Pontif. lib. 2. c. 9.

^b Bellar. de
Pontif. lib. 3. c. 6.

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Kings, as others, by an *indirect prerogative*, tending to the advancement of the spirituall good. The third is the opinion of *Barclayus*, who annereth, that the Pope hath spirituall power to excommunicate Kings, but no temporall authoritie; *directly*, or *indirectly*, to afflict the persons of Kings, to *transpose* their kingdomes, to perswade forrainers to make warres, or subiects to rebell against them. And with him agreeth M. *Blackwell*^d in his letter to the *Romish Catholiques of England*, wherein he saith, that the *keyes Ecclesiasticall*, doe no way extend themselves by Gods law, vnto kingdomes terrene, to open or shut, torosse, or turmoile any of them, they haue no wardes in them, to turne, or ouerturne Kingdomes, or to open any lawfull entrance, into such disobedient and doubtfull courses. Wherefoeuer (*most noble Lord*) any *Papist* hath laid a stepping-stone in this water of strife, any man may plainly trace the *Puritanes treading*. Although they denie an vniuersall absolute power ouer all Kings, which the Pope claymeth, they contend for a *nationall soueraintie*, in euery kingdome, ouer Kings, to dispose of them and their kingdomes. *Although the Popes* (saith *Christopher Goodman*)^e for sundrie enormities, haue deposed Kings, by *unlawfull authoritie*; the reason that mooned them so to doe, was honest, and iust, and meete to be receiued, and executed by the bodie of euery common-wealth. hæc ille. The Statesmen of the kingdome (saith *Lambertus Danaus*)^f may punish their King when he transgresseih the fundamentall lawes of the kingdome, yea if he be obstinate, they may deprive him of his royall dignitie. M. *Beza* ^g in a scholasticall disputation (one *John Iobert* beeing Respondent) did determine, that the officers of State, such as are the 7. Electors in the Empire of the Romanes, and the Three States in euery Mo-

e Gulielm Barclay. cont. monarchomacos. l. 5. cap. 8.

d In the letter annexed to his large examination at Lambeth, p. 157.

e Treatise of obedience, pag. 52. 53.

f Polit. Christ. l. 6. c. 3. p. 156.

g Theses Geneveses, p. 249.

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narchie, haue authoritie to repress tyrannous Princes: which if they doe not, they shall answer before God, for their treacherie against the people. Dudley Fenner an English Sectarie, iumpeth with them: He is a Tyrant by practise (saith ^h Fenner) that dissolueth all, or the chiefeſt compacts of the Commonwealth, let them that haue that authoritie, as the Peeres of the kingdome, or the publike assemblee of all Estates, make him away, vel pacificè, vel cum bello, either by peaceable practise, or open hostilitie. Cardinall Bellarmine giueth this reason for the Popes indirect power ouer Kings: * The Ecclesiastical Commonwealth must be (saith he) perfect, and of it selfe sufficient, to attaine vnto the ende whereunto it was ordained: for such are all Commonwealths that are well instituted. Therefore it ought to haue all necessarie power, to attaine to the spirituall end, but power to dispose of all temporalties, is necessarie to the spirituall end: for otherwise euill Kings will foster heretikes, and ouerthrow religion, wherfore the Church hath this power. Hæc ille. Banosus a Puritane in a tractate of Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall Politie, hath the very same reason, for the power of the Presbiterie: ⁱ If the Church (saith he) haue not power, by forcible meanes to compell all sorts of men to liue in order, this absurditie will follow, euen vnder a faithfull magistrate, that the Church can not defend her selfe, with her owne forces. What (I pray you) will become of the Church, when the Magistrate is either an Infidel, or so negligent, as to suffer euill to be done without punishment? and those things which are hallowed to be profaned, or remooued? Should not the Church be vterly ouerthrowne in these cases, if it had not peculiar right to make powerfull resistance? Hæc ille. I appeale (my good Lord) to the consciences of all good men, whether this reason of Bellarmine and Banosus be not a wicked ouerthwarting

^h Sacra Theologia, lib. 5 c. 13.

* De Pontif. l. 5. cap. 7.

ⁱ lib. 2. pag 41.

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of the counsell of God, and his gracious prouidence, to-
wards the Church, yea an open bewraying of their vn-
quiet hearts, and seditious disposition. Our *Sauour Christ*
(foreseeing and foresheewing, that his *Disciples* the chiete
pillars of the Church, should be brought before *Kings*,
hated of the world, yea and put to death^k for his *names sake*,)
teacheth not, to resist, or rebell, but to abide, and endure,
not with violence to withstand authoritie, but^m with pa-
tience to possesse their soules. This is a remedie against Ty-
raunts; and there is no other meanes reuealed in the word
of God against persecution thenⁿ *Desertion*; if they perse-
cute you in one citie, flie to another: or^o Praier and Patience;
Happie are you, when men shall doe all manner of euill vnto you
for my names sake, reioyce and be glad, for great is your reward
in heauen. Let not man therfore resist their power, which
God ordained, but with all meeknes endure persecurion
in earth, that they may be crowned in heauen. *Lambertus*
Danaus a Puritane of the best note, doth freely graunt *Bel-*
larmines Thesis, viz. that there is a power in ordine ad spi-
ritualia, to punish kings: denying his hypothesis, viz. that
the Pope hath such power. This beeing granted (saith
^q *Danaus*) that *Belarmine* contendeth for: it doth not followe
that the Bishop of Rome, or any other Prelate, hath temporall
iurisdiction ouer that ciuill Christian Magistrate, which doth
either enact lawes against the spirituall determination: or go-
uerne the Commonwealth contrarie to the spirituall regiment
of the Church. We confesse those lawes, and that gouernement,
should be reformed, but it ought to be done, by the publike as-
sembly, by the Parliament of the kingdome, or by the Peeres
themselues of the whole kingdome. Yea in case the king de-
serue to be deposed, the Pope, and other Bishops, or Priests,
haue

k Matth. 10. 18.
& c. 24. 9.

l Matth. 24. 13.

m Luk. 21. 19.

n Matth. 10. 23.

o Psal 50. 15.

q Mat 5. 11. 12.

q Resp. Danaei
ad Bellarm de
pontif. lib. 5.
cap. 7. pag. 541.

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have no right to dethrone him: * *Verum id fieri debet à concilio publico, à Parlamento regni, vel ab ipsis regni ordinibus,* but that ought to be done by the publike Councell, the Parliament of the kingdome, or by the Estates of the land: *Hæc ille.* Thus farre (my good Lord) they agree in substance, touching the punishment, and deprivation of Kings, though they vary in this point of circumstance, whether the Pope, the Peeres, or the people shall punish or depose them.

As concerning the third opinion, which is for the excommunication of Kings; all Presbyteries which are the tribunall seates of Iesus Christ (as Beza saith in his book against *Erastus*) do chalenge right and power, as Christs immediate Commissaries in earth, to excommunicate the chiefe Christian Magistrates, as may appeare by these places: viz. Beza de Presbyterio, pag. 115. Thomas Cartwright in his last reply, pag. 65. Lambertus Danaus in his Christian Policy, lib. 3. pag. 232. Gellius Sneecanus in his booke of discipline, pag. 456. William Bucanus in his common places of Diuinitie, pag. 582. Hermanus Rencherus in his obseruation vpon the first Psalm, pag. 68. The counterpoysen, pag. 175. The humble petition to the late Queene, pag. 55. And the defence of discipline against M. Bridges, pag. 127. And this power, haue they put in practise to the glorie of Sion, against diuerse kings in the Christian world, as the said disciplinarian * Champion boasterh, in more then insolent manner. Consider (honourable Lord) whether any King may thinke his state secure, where euery offence, though but suspected, doth procure a citation, euery citation, doth inforce apparence, euery apparence doth vrge confession, or inioyne purgation, and

* Neither barell
better hering.
† Idem ibidem
pag. 547.

Theodorus Beza, pag. 116.
Gul. I. Zeppe-
rus.
Discipl. Ecclesi.

Thomas Cartwright.
Lamb. Danus.
Gellius Sneecan.

Gulielm. Bucanus
Herm. Rencher.

The counter-
poysen.
The humble
petition.
The defence of
discipline a-
gainst M. Bridges.

* pag. 128.

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and the least contempt doth breed a *contumacie*, to drawe the greatest censure. These *Papish-popes* shall neuer be able to shewe any record in the sanctuarie, or practise of Prelates, for a thousand yeares after Christ to warrant this *Puritan-papish* manner of proceeding against Princes. I like well of the opinion in *John de Parisys*^f concerning the power of the keyes. *Non quilibet peccator, &c. Every offender, neither is nor ought to be subiect to the power of the keyes, and Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, but the sinner which is subiect thereto. And therefore the said power hath no effect, except against them that are subiect unto it, which subiection, maketh a man fit matter, whereupon the power of the keyes hath his effectuall operation. Hac ille.*

^f De potest. reg. & papal. cap. 13. Euerie Minister of God must rather submit his life to the Prince as pleasure the admit him to the Sacrament, that sheweth manifest tokens of impietie, or infidelitie: but the Puritans speake not of the Church ministerie, but of their Lordly consistorie, as the Papists doe of the Popes court: whom not God but the Deuill and Antichrist hath exalted ouer Kings.

The politique Puritans meddle not with this dangerous question, of Deposing and Killing of Kings, but stand aloofe, to giue ayme, while other desperat archers shoote, that if they misse, they may step aside to saue themselves, or in case the marke be hit, they may step in to part the stakes. I accuse not without cause: M. Beza beeing seriously consulted by some brethern of England, whether inferiour officers, might not lawfully arme themselves, against him, who beeing lawfully confirmed Magistrate, doth take away the priuiledges, and infringe the liberties, which he hath sworne to performe to the subiects; or doth oppresse them with manifest tyrannie, &c. returned this fecklesse

^u Beza epist. 34.

answer, *cogitmur itē xxiij: We must demurre upon this point, not onely because it is dangerous (specially in our time) to set open such a window, but also for that we may not determine the state of this question, simply as you propound it, but upon consideration of many most waightie circumstances.* * And there-

^x Iraq; in hoc Anthonimo viij. quæ

fore

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fore for the present we deferre our answer to your demand: Thus Beza demurred at Geneva, in *communi fratrum ex vrbis, & agro collectorum cœtu*, in the common assembly of the Brethren, out of the Citie, and Suburbes: 25. Iunij. Anno Domini. 1568. the very yeare before Morton the Popes Nuncio, came to England, to stirre vp all Peeres of the North, against our late *Queene*, for pretended *heresie*, and *tyrannie*. While the proposition was demurred at Geneva, the Assumption was framed at Rome, and the conclusion practised by traytors in England; could not Beza answer? why did he not confesse it? or if he could, why doth he dissemble it? It is truth without colour that must direct the conscience, and settle the simple, desirous to be resoluèd. *Dissimulation* is but dawbing with vntempered mortar, *ad perducendos homines in sermone mendacij*, to bring men to destruction, with the words of lying: and a verie readie way to bring religion to scandale *Princes* to iealousie, and *male-contented* men to mutinie. I haue endeououred (according to my mediocritie of learning) to set downe the iudgement of the Church of God in all the former ages, concerning the *Authoritie of Kings*, and the *Dutie of subiects*, that the late learning of *Papist* and *Puritane*, (compared with the old doctrine of ancient Orthodoxals) may appeare to be as new as it is naught: which I offer to your Honourable protection, as well in respect of your *dutie to God*, as of my *service to your Lordship*. Your *dutie to God*: for he that hath made you his *instrument of honour* to saue the *Kings life*, doth require at your hands, the maintenance of the *Kings right*. And seeing it hath pleased you, to admit me into the number of your *servants*, I hope you will fauourably

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bly accept of this my *service*, wherein I doe my best endeavour, to make vp the gappe against *Schisme* in the Church, and *sedition* in the State. The great God, and King of heauen grantt your Lordship many dayes, much honour, the loue of your Countrie, inward peace, and euerlasting glorie. *From Clarehall in Cambridge. 12. Octo. 1610.*

Your Lordships Chaplaine

humbly deuoted,

DAVID OWEN.



To the dutifull Subiect.

THe *Puritan-Church-Policie*, and the *Iesuiticall societie* began together: ^a the one in *Geneva*, 1536. and the other in *Rome*, 1537. since their beginning, they haue bestirred themselves busily (as he that compasseth the ^b earth, or they that coasted ^c sea & land,) each one in his order. The *Puritan* to breake downe the wall of *Sion*, by disturbing the peace of the *reformed Church*: the *Iesuite* to build vp the ruines of *Babylon*, by maintaining the abomination of the *deformed Synagogue*. These (though brethren in sedition and headie) are head-senered, the one staring to the *presbyterie*, and the other to the *Papacie*, but they are so fast linked behind, and tayle-tied together with firebrands betweene them, that if they be not quenched by the power of Maiestie, they cannot chose (when the meanes are fitted to their plot) but set the *Church* on fire, and the *state* in an vprore. Their many and long prayers, their much vehement preaching, and stout opposition against orders established, their shewe of austeritie in their conuersation, and of singular learning in their profession, (as the euill fiend transformed into an angel of light) brought them first to admiration. Whereby they haue not onely robbed widows houses vnder pretence of prayer, and ranfacked their seduced disciples by shew of

^a See M. Hookers preface. And the preface of Chemnic. before his examen against the first part of the Councell of Trent.
^b Iob. 1. 7.
^c Math. 3. 15.

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deuotion, but also battered the *courts of Princes*, by animating the *Peeres* against *Kings*, and the *people* against the *Peeres* for pretended *reformation*. And whereas God hath inseparably annexed to the *crowne of earthly maiestie*, a *supreme ecclesiasticall soveraigntie* for the protection of *pietie*; and an absolute *immunitie* from the iudiciall *sentence*, and *Martiall violence*, for the preservation of *policie*: These sectaries bereaue *Kings* of both these their *Princely prerogatiues*, exalting themselves (as the fountaine of perdition) above all that is called *God*: Least they might seeme *sine ratione insanire*, to sowe the seedes of sedition without shewe of reason, *Cadem faciunt scripturarum* (as the heretikes in *Tertullians* time were wont to doe) *in materiam suam*, they kill the *Scripture* to serve their turnes: and pervert the holy word of the *eternall God*, by strange interpretation, and wicked application against the meaning of the *Spirit*, by whom it was penned; the doctrine of the *Church*, to whom it was deliuered; and the practise of all the *Godly*, (as well vnder the *Lame* as the *Gospel*) that did beleue, vnderstand, and obey it; to maintaine their late, and lewd opinions. I haue in my hand above fortie several places of the old and new Testament, which both the brethren of the enraged opposite faction doe indifferently quote, and seditiously apply, in defence of their dangerous opposition, and damnable error, against the *Ecclesiasticall supremacie*, and the *indeleble character of royal inunction*. Vnto the which places, falsely expounded, perverted, and applyed, I haue added the interpretation, of the learned *Protestants* since the time of *Martin Luther*, who began to discouer the nakednesse of the *Romish Church*, 1517. More especially insisting in the most mightie

2. The 123. 4.
a K. Henry 8.
K. James.
Th. Cranmer.
Io. Whitgift.
Rich. Bancroft
Archb. of Cant.
Henry Earle of
Northampton.
Robert Earle of
Salisbury.

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mightie Kings, the most reuerend Prelats, honourable Lords, loyall Clergie, and other worthie men, that haue in the Church of England, learnedly defended the Princely right, against disloyall, and vndutifull opponents: which by *Gods* helpe I meane to publish, when I haue added the exposition of the *Fathers*, to confute the falshood of the *Puritan-popish-faction*, & to confirme the truth of the *Protestants Doctrine* in each particular quotation. I protest in all sinceritie, that I neither haue in this treatise, nor meane in the other, *hereafter to be published*, to detort any thing, to make either the *cause* it selfe, or the *fauourers* of it more *odious*, then their owne words, (published with the generall approbation of their seuerall fauorites) doe truly inferre, and necessarily inforce. I hope the loyall subiect, and *Godly* affected, will accept in good part my endeauour, and industrie, intended for the glorie of *God*, the honour of the *King*, and the discoverie of the *seditions*. The displeasure of the *malecontented-factions* (which can no more abide the truth, then the owles can light, or the frantique the Physitian) I neither regard nor care for. Farewell.

The L. Burleigh
L. treasurer of
England.
The L. Elmhurst
L. Chancellor of
England.
The L. Stafford.
The L. Cooke.
B. Iewell.
B. Horne.
B. Pilkington.
B. Elmore.
B. Couper.
B. Bilton.
B. Babington.
B. Andrewes.
B. Barlowe.
B. Bridges.
D. Ackworth.
D. Sausan.
D. Codens.
D. Sutcliffe.
D. Pythergh.
D. Wilkes.
D. Morton.
D. Tocker.
M. Beckislaw.
M. Foxe.
M. Nowell.
M. Hooker, &
many others.

Errata.

Pag. 10. l. 15. for subtilly, read subtilty. p. 17. l. 4. *presto*, for *prasto*. p. 19. l. 25. *Sabanianus*, for *Sabinianus*. p. 34. l. 27. odience, for obedience. p. 37. l. 13. his, for this. p. 39. l. 5. as very foole, for, as very a foole. p. 47. l. 1. *regnum*, for *regum*. p. 48. l. 17. Prince, for Princes.

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The first Chapter prooveth by the testimo-

monie of Scripture, that Kings are not punishable by man, but reserved to the iudgement of God.



KINGS have their authoritie from God^a, and are his Vicegerents in earth^b, to execute justice and iudgement for him amongst the sonnes of men^c. All subiects (as well Prelates and Nobles, as the inferior people) are forbidden with the tongue, to revile Kings^d, with the heart, to thinke ill of them^e, or with the hand, to resist them^f. The great King of heauen doth impart his owne name vnto his Lieutenants the Kings of the earth: and calleth them Gods, with an *ego dixi*, whose word is *Yea* and *Amen*: with this onely difference, that these Gods shall die like men^g, and fall like other Princes. Wherefore *Nathan* the man of God, must reprove *Dauid*ⁱ, that he may repent, and be saued. And the Sages, Iudges, and Nobles (without feate or flatterie) must aduise and direct *Roboam*^k. Other attempts against Kings, the King of Kings hath neither commanded in his law, nor permitted in his Gospel. *Dauid* (saith *Ambrose*) *nullis legibus tenebatur*, &c. *Dauid* though he were an adulterer, and an homicide, was tied to no law: for Kings are free from bonds, and can by no compulsion of law, be drawne to punishment, beeing freed by the power of government. Thus saith *Ambr.*

^a Rom. 13.4.

^b Prov. 3.15.

^c 1. Chron. 19.6.

^d Exod. 22.

^e Eccl. 10.10.

^f Rom. 13.2.

^g Psal. 82.6.

^h Psal. 82.7.

ⁱ 2. Sam. 12.7.

^k 1. Reg. 13.7.

Apolog.
Dauid cap.
10.

The dutie of Subiects.

Saul the first King of *Israel* was rather a monster, then a man: after the spirit of God had forsaken him, and the euill spirit was come vpon him^m. There were not many sinnes against God, Man, or Nature, wherein he transgressed not; yet his excesse was punished, neither by the Sacerdotal Synod, nor the secular Senate: *who can lay his hand on the Lords Anointed, and be guiltlesse*? The very Anointment was the cause of *Sauls* immunitie from all humane coercion: as *Augustine* affirmeth, *Quero si non habebat, Saul sacramenti sanctitatem, quid in eo David venerabatur*? If *Saul* had not the holinesse of the Sacrament, I aske what it was that *David* reuerenced in him? he honoured *Saul* for the sacred and holy vnction, while he liued: and reuenged his death. Yea, he was troubled and trembled at the heart, because he had cut off a lappe of *Sauls* garment. Lo, *Saul* had no innocencie, and yet he had holinesse: not of life, but of vnction. So farre *Augustine*.

Who questioned *David* for his murther and adulterie? who censured *Salomon* for his idolatrie? though their crimes were capitall by the law of God. After that kingdome was diuided, all the Kings of *Israel*, and most of the Kings of *Iudah*, were notorious idolaters: yet during those kingdomes, which endured aboue 200. yeares, no Priest did chalenge, no States-men did claime power from the highest, to punish or depose their Princes. And the Prophets perswaded all men to obey, and endure those idolatrous Princes, whose impietie they reproofed with the losse of their liues.

Christ fled when the people would haue made him a King. He paid tribute for himselfe and *Peter*. When the question was propounded concerning the Emperours subdye, he concluded for *Cesar*. And standing to receive the

iudge-

m 1.Sam.16.
24.

n 1.Sam.16.
9.

Aug. contr.
lit.Pet.1.2.
cap.1.2.

a Ioh.6.15.
b Matth.17.
27.
c Matth.22.
22.

The dutie of Subiects.

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iudgement of death before *Pilate*, he acknowledged his power to be of God^a. This *Sauour of Mankind*, whose actions should be our instruction, did neuer attempt to change that government, or to displace those gouernours, which were directly repugnant to the scope of *reformation* that he aimed at.

John Baptist did indeede reprove king Herod with a *Non licet*, but he taught not the souldiers to leane his seruice, or by strife and impatience, to wind themselves out of the band of allegiance, wherein the *law* had left them, and the *Gospel* found them^f.

The *Apostles* deliuered vnto the Church the doctrine of obedience and patience, which they had learned by the precept, and obserued by the practise of our Lord Christ. *Peter* commandeth obedience to all manner of men in authorities. *Paul* forbiddeth resistance against any power^g. And *S. Iude* maketh it blasphemie, to reuile gouernment, or to speak euill of gouernours. If therefore an *Angel* from heauen preach otherwise, then they haue deliuered, let him be accursed^h.

The second Chapter prooueth the same

by the Fathers of the first 300. yeares.

THE true Church, which had the spirit of vnderstanding, to discern the voice of Christ, from the voice of a stranger, neuer taught, neuer practised, neuer used or approoued other weapons, then salt teares, and humble prayers against the *Paganisme*, *heresie*, *apostacie*, and *tyrannie* of earthly Kings.

Iustinus Martyr, *Tertullian*, and *Cyprian*, shall beare witness for 300. yeares, wherein the Kings and Potentates of

the earth, bathed themselves in the blood of innocents, and professed enmitie against Christ and his seruants.

Ad inquisitionem vestram, Christianos nos esse profiteamur, &c. At your inquisition, we professe our selues to be Christians, though we knowe death to be the guerdon of our profession (saith *Iustine Martyr* to the Emperour *Antoninus*,) did we expect an earthly kingdome, we would denie our religion, that escaping death, we might in time attaine our expectation: But we feare not persecution, which haue not our hope fixed on the things of this life, because we are certainly perswaded, that we must die. As for the preservation of publique peace, we Christians yeeld to you. (O Emperour) more helpe and assistance, then any other men. For we teach, that no euill doer, nor couetous man, nor seditious, that lieth in wait for blood, can haue access to God: And that euerie man doth passe to life or death, according to the merit of his deeds: Thus farre he.

We (saith *Terrullian* to *Scapula* the Viceroy of *Carthage*) are defamed for seditious against the Imperial Maiestie: Yet were the Christians neuer found to be *Albinians*, *Nigrians*, or *Cassians*, (*Albinus*, *Niger*, and *Cassius* were traytors against *Martus Antonius*, *Commodus*, *Pertinax*, and *Seuerus* the Emperours) but they that sware by the Emperours dietie, the very day before: they that vowed and offred sacrifice for the Emperours health, are found to be the Emperours enemies. A Christian, is enemy to no man, much lesse to the Emperour: knowing, that the Imperiall maiestie, is ordained of God, and therefore necessarily to be loued, reuerenced, and honoured, whose prosperitie, together with the welfare of all the Romane Empire they desire so long as the world standeth. We doe therefore honour the Emperour, in such

fort,

Secund. Apoc.
log. ad Ant.
fmp. p. 113.

Terrull. lib.
ad Scap.

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sort, as is lawfull for vs, and expedient for him: we reuerence him as a mortall man, next vnto God, of whom he holdeth all his authoritie, onely subiect to God, and so we make him, soueraigne ouer all, in that, we make him subiect, but to God alone: So farre *Tertullian*.

S. Cyprian sheweth many good reasons, for the patience of the Saints, in his booke against *Demetrianus*. God (saith he) is the reuenger of his seruants, when they are annoied. Wherefore no Christian when he is apprehended, doth resist or revenge himselfe against your vnjust violence, though the number of our people be very great. The confidence we haue, that God will reward, doth confirme our patience, the guiltlesse giue way to the guilty, the innocent rest content with their vnderdeserued punishment, and tortures, beeing certainly assured that the wrong done to vs, shall not be vnrewarded. The more iniurie we suffer, the more iust and grievous shall Gods vengeance be on them that persecute vs. It is therefore cleare and manifest, that the plagues which come downe from Gods indignation, doe not come thorough vs poore persecuted Christians, but from him whom we serue, for the wrong done vnto vs. So farre *Cyprian*.

As many as liued according to Christs institution, did neuer reuile the gouernement of Tyrants, much lesse by force resist their violence, following the patience of Christ, who could by his owne power, the might of his Angels, or the strength of his creatures, haue at the first withstood, or, at the last reuenged, the iniurie of the people, the buffet of the Priests seruant, the scorne of *Herod*, the iudgement of *Pilate*, and the violence of the souldiers. He yeelded himselfe patiently to death, to teach all his disciples, that an iniurie done by authoritie, is patiently to be endured, not forcibly to be

A 3

repel.

*Ioh. 19. 15.
Ioh. 18. 22.
Luk. 23. 11.
Math. 27. 27.
27. 28. 29.*

repelled. As soone also as *Paul* became a Christian, his seditious and bloody spirit, which he had learned of the Pharisees, was changed into a desire of peace, and quietnesse. He honoured the heathen Magistrates, as *Agrippa*, *Felix*, and *Lisias*, rarifying his doctrine, by the practise of his life. I knowe that Cardinall *Alane*, Cardinall *Bellarmino*, *Ficlerus*, *Simancha*, and other vpholders of the Papall tyrannie, that *Stephanus Iunius*, *Franciscus Hottomanus*, *Georgius Buchananus*, and other pillars of the Puritane anarchie, doe answear, that the Church then, as it were swathed in the bonds of weaknesse, had not strength sufficient to make powerfull resistance. But these *Fathers* that then lived, doe conuince them, and all other sectaries of falshood, by making demonstration, of the strength and potencie of the godly Christians, in case they would haue put their forces to the strögest prooffe. Seeing that all publike places, as Courts, Camps, Consistories, Cities, and countrey villages, were stored and furnished with men of that profession and qualitie, as doth most euidently appeare by the words of *Tertullian*, in his Apologeticall defence of the Christians: *Vna nox pauculis faculis, &c.* One night with a few firebrands, would yeeld vs sufficient reuenge, if it were lawfull for vs to requite euill for euill. But God forbid, that Christians should either reuenge themselves, with humane fire, or be grieved to suffer that where-with they are tried. Were we disposed, not to practise secret reuenge, but to profess open hostilitie, should we want number of men, or force of armes? Are the Moores, or the Parthians, or any one nation whatsoever, more in number then we, that are spread ouer all the world? We are not of you, and yet we haue filled all the places and roomes which you haue. Your Cities, Ilands, Castles, townes, assemblies,

your

your Tents, Tribes, and Wards; yea, the Imperiall Pallace, Senate, and seats of iudgement. For what warre, were not we able and readie, though we were fewer in number then you, that go to our Martyrdome so willingly? if it were not more lawfull in our religion to be slaine, then to slay? we could without armour, not by rebelling against you, but by departing from you, doe you displeasure enough, euen with our separation. For if so great a multitude, as we are, should breake out from you, in any other corner of the world, the losse of so many citizens would shame and punish you. You would feare, to see your selues left solitarie, euen amazed, as among the dead. You should then see, silence and desolation euerie where. You would haue many more enemies, then inhabitants. Whereas now, you haue fewer enemies, because of the multitude of your citizens, that are almost all Christians. *Hec Tertullianus.* We see by these three witnesses, that the Church of God, in the first 300. yeares wanted, neither number of men, strength, nor courage to resist persecution, and to haue established the Christian faith, if that course had beene lawfull: but because their Lord had giuen them no sword to strike withall, they chose rather to be crowned *Martyrs*, for their religion, then to be punished as traytors for rebellion. What number of men, what strength of armes had the Church (thinke you) the next 300. yeares after it had beene backed by Princes, defended by lawes, prouoked by honourable fauours, to professe Christianitie? Yet all that while, the seruants of God, neither did nor would resist Apostasie, Heresie, or Tyrannie: but yeelded their lines, with all submission, though they wanted neither meanes nor multitude, conuenient for any warres, as the next chapter by, pregnable

ble demonstration, shall shewe:

The third Chapter prooueth by the Fathers,

of the second 300. yeares, that the pleasure of Princes, must be endured with patience, when their decrees cannot be obeyed with a good Conscience.

THe next 300. yeares, the Christians did as patiently endure Heresie, Apostasie, and Tyrannie, to the glorious triall of their faith, and the eternall reward of their patience. Whereof we haue a cloud of witnesses, namely, *Hosius, Liberius, Athanasius, Hilarius, Basilus Magnus, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Lucifer Calaritanus, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Optatus Milevitanus, Ambrosius, Augustinus, Chrysostomus, Leo the first, and Gregorie the great.*

Hosius was a famous confessor in the Church, before *Constantine* the great, a worthie Bishop during that Emperours raigne, and after his death greatly esteemed of all good men, yea euen of *Constantius* the Arrian Emperour himselfe, for his old age, great experience, excellent learning, and good conuersation. When this worthie Prelate, was commanded by the Emperour, to subscribe to the condemnation of *Athanasius*, he returned to the Imperiall Maiestie, this stout, Constant, Christian, and durifull answer; *Ego confessor munus implevi primum, cum persecutio moueretur, ab avo tuo Maximiniano*: I was then a confessor, when your grandfather *Maximinian* persecuted the Church. And if you doe now raise persecution, I am readie to endure any thing, rather then betray the truth and shed innocent blood. I do not like your manner of writing against *Athanasius*: Cease from it, be not of the Arrian opinion: Giue no care to the Earsterne

Obsequera
& scribe
contra Atha-
nasium qui
enim contra
illum scribit
ille plane
nobiscum,
&c.

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stearne Bishops: belecue me rather, that for age might be your grandfather. Leauē off I beseech you, and call to mind, that you are a mortall man. Feare that dreadfull day of iudgement. Enterpose not your selfe (O Emperour) into the ecclesiasticall service, neither command vs in this kind, to condemne the innocent: but learne rather of vs. God hath entrusted your Maiestie with the Empire, and committed vnto vs, the seruice of the Church: he that with an envious eie, maligneth your imperiall soueraigntie, contradicteth the ordinance of God. Take heede (O Prince) least drawing to your selfe the right of the Church, you become guiltie of grievous transgression. It is written, Giue vnto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars, and to God the things that appertaine to God: it is therefore, neither lawfull for vs Priests, to vsurpe your kingdome: nor for you Princes, to meddle with the sacred seruice, and sacrifices of the Church. Thus farre *Hosius*. You see the grounds, that this good Bishop stood vpon: rather resolued to suffer any death or torture, then by his consent to betray the truth, or to condemne the guiltlesse. He admonisheth freely, and reprooueth sharply, he offreth his life to the Princes pleasure: It was farre from his meaning, to reuile the sacred maiestie, or to stirre vp any rebellion, against this hereticall Emperour, which infringed the *Canons* of the Church, without all regard of truth or equitie, to serue the humors of the Arrians, and to wreck his anger on them all, which yeelded not to that heresie.

*Hosius apud
Athanad so-
licitam vi-
tam agentes.*

Liberius a Bishop of Rome, did neither excommunicate nor depose this wicked Emperour *Constantius*, but appeared at his commaund, and endured his plea-

Liberius quo
supra apud
Athan.

AA 93.

sure, to the admiration of the Arrians, and the confirmation of the Christians, as we finde in *Athanasius*, *Trahitur Liberius ad imperatorem, &c.* *Liberius* was haled to the Emperour, when he came to his presence he spake freely, Cease (said he) O Emperour, to persecute the Christians, goe not about, by any meanes, to bring hereticall impietie into the Church of God. We are readie, rather to endure any torture, then to be called Arrians. Compell vs not to become enemies vnto Christ. Fight not against him (we beseech you) that hath bestowed the Empire vpon you. Render not impietie to him for his grace, persecute them not which beleue in him, least you heare, *it is hard for thee to kicke against the pricke*. Oh would to God you did so heare it that you might (as Paul did) beleue it. Loe we are at hand, and come to your presence, before our enemies the Arrians can inuent any thing to enforme against vs, we hastened to come at your commande, though we were assured of banishment: that we might abide our punishment, before any crime could be objected, much lesse prooued against vs. Whereby it may appeare, that all Christians are (as we now be) vnderferuedly punished, and the crimes laid to their charge not true but fained by sycophancy or deceitfull subtilly. Thus spake *Liberius*, & euery man admired his resolution: but the Emperour for answer commanded him to banishment. Thus farre he.

Pope *Liberius* had not learned the language of his successor *Pius Quintus*, when he bellowed against our late Queene, nor that principle of the *Puritanes*, that the inferior officer may vse force of armes against the cheife

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cheife Magistrate that shall become a tyrant (*whereof euery seditious seſtarie will be iudge*) and not onely defend himſelfe, and his owne people, but alſo any other that ſhall flie vnto him. Which opinion *Lambertus Danaus* auoucheth, contrarie to the Law, the Goſpel, and the generall conſent of all orthodoxall Fathers.

*Politia Chri-
ſtian. l. 6. c. 3.*

Hilarius, a Biſhop of France, wrote the ſame time to this ſame Emperour in moſt humble manner, *Beneſica natura tua domine beatiffime Auguſte*: Your milde nature, moſt bleſſed Emperour, agreeing with your gracious diſpoſition, and the mercie which floweth abundantly, from the fountaine of your fatherly godlineſſe, doe aſſure vs, that we ſhall obtaine our deſire. We beſeech you, not onely with words, but alſo with teares, that the catholique Churches, be no longer oppreſſed with greuous iniuries, and endure intollerable perſecutions, and contumelies, and that (which is moſt ſhamefull) euen of our brethren. Let your Clemencie provide, &c.

*Hilarius ad
Imperatore
Conſtant.*

Surely, if it had then beene knowne, that the Pope, by his abſolute power or indirect authoritie, could haue puniſhed or depoſed kings, which the Papiſts aſſert, or for the Peeres or the people to haue done it, which the *Puritanes* aſſirme, ſome of theſe olde Biſhops, would haue preſſed that point againſt this hereticall Prince, which abuſed his ſword, to the blaſpheming of Chriſt, the murthering of the Saints, the ſeducing of many thouſand ſoules: by ſtrengthening, maintaining, and eſta bliſhing the Arrian error. But they tooke it to be no Chriſtian mans part, to beare armour (no not de-
fenſiue) againſt his Prince, though neuer ſo wicked,

cruell or vngodly.

Holy *Athanasius* confesseth the power of Kings to be of God, and their impietie not to be punished by man.

Sicut in toto mundo Deus rex est & imperator & potestatem exercet in omnibus: As God is King and Emperour ouer

all the world, and exerciseth his power in all creatures: so the King and Prince is ouer all earthly men, and doth

Ad Antioch.
quest. 55.

by his absolute power, what he will, euen as God himselfe *hec ille*.

When it was objected against this reuerend father *Athanasius*, that he had incensed *Constans* the religious

Emperour of the West, against *Constantius*, in the behalfe of the persecuted Christians: he cleared himselfe from that accusation, in an Apologie to the saide

Apolog.
Athanas. ad
Constant.

Emperour *Constantius*. The Lord (saith he) is my record, and his annointed your brother, that I neuer made

mention of your Maiestie for any euill, before your brother of blessed memorie, that religious Emperour *Con-*

stans. I did neuer incite him against you, as these *Arri-*

ans doe slander me, but whensoever I had accessse vnto him, I recounted your gracious inclination. God know-

eth, what mention I made of your godly disposition. Giue me leaue and pardon (most courteous Emperour)

to speake the truth. That seruant of God *Constantius*, was

not easily drawne to giue care to any man in this kind. I

was neuer in such credit with him, that I durst speake of

any such matter, or derogate from one brother before

an other, or talke reprochfully of one Emperour, in the hearing of an other. I am not so madde, neither haue I

forgotten the voice of God, which saith, Curse not the King in thine heart, and backbite not the mightie in the

secrets

secrets of thy chamber: for the birds of the ayre shall tell it, and the winged foule shall bewray thee. If then, the things that be spoken in secret against Princes, can not be hid: is there any likelihood, that I in the Emperours presence, and before so many, as continually attended his person, would say any thing otherwise then well of your Maiestie? Thus farre *Athanas.* This is sounder and seemelier doctrine for subiects, then that which *Henrie Garnet*, and *Robert Tesmond*, taught some Romish catholike gentlemen of *England*, who imployed *Thomas Winter* into *Spaine*, in the moneth of December, *Ann. Dom.* 1601. to make request to the Spanish king, in the behalfe and names of the English Pope-catholikes, that he would send an armie hither into England, for the advancement of their Catholique cause; and to promise, that the forces of the *Papists* here, should be readie to doe him seruice against the late *Queene*.

L. Cooke in
his speech at
Garnets arraignment.

The selfe same doctrine of sedition, was published in the yeare after, viz. *ann. Dom.* 1602. by *Gulielmus Bucanus*, a man of no meane esteeme among the *Puritans*, and that, at the earnest request of *Beza* and *Gonartius*, the chiefe Ministers of the Church of *Geneva*, (if the author himselfe belie them not,) whose words are as followeth: *Subditis si sit publica & manifesta seuitia, licet fieri supplices, implorare auxilia ab alijs, & suscipere eorum defensionem alijs regibus licet*: Subiects, when they endure publique and manifest wrong, may lawfully become suppliants to foraine states, and craue their ayde against their Princes: and other Kings ought to take vpon them their defence and protection. So farre *Bucan.*

Luc. c. iij.
Tread 1600.
77. p. 841.

Subiects must square their subiection, according to

the rule of Gods word, not after the affection and fancies of men. ^a *Saul* commanded *Doeg* to murder 85. Priests, to destroy their citie, men, women, and children with the edge of the sword. Did *David*, for whome they were slaine, when he had *Saul* in his power, take reuenge, or suffer his seruants to doe it, when they were readie and offered themselues to slay *Saul*? *David*^b defiled *Vrias* his bed, and caused him to be killed: Did *Absolon* well, to conspire against him, that was both a murderer and an adulterer? *Salomon*^c brought into the land many strange wiues, and as many different religions into the Church: Did the high Priest, the Peeres, the Prophets, or the people, offer to chastice or depose him? *Achab*^d suffered *Iezabel* to put *Naboth* to death, and to kill the Lords Prophets: Did *Elias* depose him, intice his subiects to rebell against him, or implore foraigne aide to destroy him? *Herod*^e beheaded *Iohn Baptist*, killed *Iames*, imprisoned *Peter*, and would haue slaine him also, if he had not beene deliuered by an Angel: Did *Peter* take vengeance on *Herod*, which he might haue done with a word, as well as on ^f *Ananias*? No: he did leaue him to the Lord, whose iudgement insued in most fearefull manner. In a word, wicked Princes haue neuer beene lawfully punished by Prelates, Potentates, or people of their kingdome, as the *Papists* and *Puritans* averre: but must be referred to the iudgement of God, as the *Protestants* affirme.

Gregorie Nazianzen in his oration at the funerall of *S. Basil*, reporteth, that the Emperours Deputie in *Pontus*, commanded *S. Basil* to put out a widow, that had taken sanctuarie to saue her selfe from forced mariage. The Bishop (not willing to violate the Ecclesiasticall laws granted

^a 1. Sam. 22.
18.

^b 2. Sam. 11. 4.
17.

^c 1. Reg. 11. 8.

^d 1. Reg. 21. 8.
9.

^e Mar. 6. 27.
A.C. 12. 2. 4.

^f A. 2. 5. 9.

^g A.C. 12. 23.

*Basilus mag-
nus.*

ted

ted by the Imperiall Maiestie) refused so to doe. The go-
 vernor called the Bishop before him, threatned to whip
 him, and to teare his flesh with iron hookes: the people
 hearing that indignitie offered to the Bishop, fell to an
 vprore, and would haue slaine the Lieftenant, *had not*
that innocent man of God, with much adoe, staied that furious
tumult, and deliuered his persecutor from that perill, to whose
pleasure he did afterward submit himselfe.

Monodia
 Nazian. inter
 opuscula Ba-
 silij fol. 95.

The same *Nazianzen*, for his admirable learning cal-
 led the *diuine*, writeth of *Julian* the Apostata-Emperours
 death: *Julian* was punished by the mercie of God, tho-
 rough the teares of Christian men: which teares were
 many, and shed of many, for that they had no other re-
 medie, against that persecutor. Thus farre *Nazian*. This
 godly father liued vnder fise Emperours, *Constantius, Ju-*
lianus, Valens, Valentinianus, and *Theodosius*, in all which
 time, he could find no remedie against the tyrannie, he-
 resie, and apostasie, of Princes, beside prayers and teares:
 The deuill of hell had not as yet hatched the distincti-
 ons of *propre* and *impropre*, *directe* and *indirecte*, *sim-*
pliciter and *secundum quid*, *absolue* & *in ordine ad spiritua-*
lia, wherewith the *Iesuites* doe fill the schooles with cla-
 morous evasions, the Church with erroneous superstiti-
 on, and many Christian states with tragicall sedition.

2. orat. cont.
 Julian.

Lucifer Calaritanus in sundrie bookes against *Constan-*
tius, vseth many immodest and disloiall speeches: but he
 perswaded not the Pope to depose him, the state to
 punish him, the people to rebell against him, or for-
 raine aide to suppress him, but threatned him with the
 dreadfull punishment of God. He that (in the feruency
 of zeale) durst call so cruell an Emperour, *Theefe, Church-*
robber,

robber, Murtherer, Beast, Hangman, Heretique, Apostata, Idolator, the forerunner of Antichrist, and Antichrist himselfe, would surely haue encouraged the Pope, the Peeres or the people, to haue remoued that euill king, and placed a better in his steade if there had beene any such opinion in those daies, as our moderne *Iesuites* and *Puritans* beare now the world in hand. As this father, in his writings, kept not the modestie of the other fathers, which liued in that age vnder *Constantius*: so he did not continue in the vnitie of the catholique Church. *Lucifer* (saith *Ambrose*) denided himselfe from our communion, though he were banished with vs for our religion.

Orat. in obitu
francis Satis.

Oratio Ambrosij ad populum inter epistol. 32. 33

When *Ambrose* was commanded, to deliuer vp his Church in *Myllaine* to *Maxentius* an *Arrian* Bishop, he declared his resolution in a sermon to the people: which were verie sorie for his departure. *Quid turbamini? volens nunquam vos deseram*: Why are you troubled? I will neuer willingly depart from you. If I be compelled, I haue no waie to resist: I can sorrow, I can weepe, I can sigh, my teares are my weapons against Souldiours, Armour, Gothes: such is the munition of a preist: by any other meanes, then teares, I neither ought nor can resist: so farre *Ambrose*. Not disabilitie but dutie, not want of strength and martiall forces, but a reuerend regard of the Emperours Maiestie, commanded by the law of God, kept this blessed *Ambrose* from resisting. For he might easily haue wrought the churches liberty, his owne fastie, and the *Arrians* calamitie by the overthrowe of the Emperour, through the force of the Garrison in that Citie, which refused, to attend the Prince to any other Church, then that wherein *Ambrose* was.

The

The dutie of Subiects.

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The stout and peremptorie answer of the Captaines and souldiers, is thus reported by *Ambrose* in an epistle to *Marcellina*, a religious woman. *Si prodire vellet haberet copiam se presto futuras* : The Emperour may goe at his pleasure, they would be readie to attend him, if he would goe to the catholike assemblies: or otherwise, they would keepe on their way to that Congregation, wherein *Ambrose* was : Thus farre the souldiers. They refused (as you see) to obey, and preferred Gods true seruice, before the Emperours fauour: they reuiled not his sacred person, they resisted not his soueraigne power, but yeelded themselues to his mercy and pleasure, to saue their soules from Gods wrath and displeasure, as we find in the same epistle. *Vnum Ioh miraturus ascenderam*, I went to Church to extoll the patience of Iob, where I found euerie one of my hearers, a Iob, worthie to be extolled. In euerie one of you Iob is reuiued, in each of you his patience, and vertue shined, what could be said better by Christian men, then that which the holy Ghost this day spake in you? We beseech (O Emperour,) we offer not to fight, we feare not to die, we entreat your clemencie. Oh it was seemely for Christian souldiers, to desire the tranquillitie of peace and faith, and to be constant in truth, euen vnto death: Thus farre *Ambrose*.

Epistol. 33.

Epist. eadem.

S. Augustine relateth the same of the Christian souldiers, vnder *Iulian* the Apostata-Emperour: *Iulianus extitit imperator infidelis*, *Iulian* was an vnbeleeuing Emperour, was he not an Apostata? an oppressor, and an Idolater? Christian souldiers serued that vnbeleeuing Emperour. When they came to the cause of Christ, they would acknowledge no Lord but him that was in heauen: when

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they were commanded to adore Idoles, and to offer sacrifice, they preferred God before their Prince. But when he called vpon them to warre, & bad them inuade any nation, they presently obeyed. They did distinguish their eternall Lord, from the temporall king, yet they submitted themselves to their temporal Lord, for his sake that was their eternall king: So farre he.

Augustin
Plal. 124.

Optatus Milevitanus, is another pregnant witnesse: *Cum super Imperatorem nemo sit nisi solus Deus*. Seeing there is no man about the Emperour, beside God alone, which made the Emperour: *Donatus*, by advancing himselfe about the Emperour, doth exceede the bounds of humanitie, and maketh himselfe a God rather then man, in that he feareth and reuerenceth him not, whom all men should honour, next after God. So farre *Optat.*

De schisin.
Donatist. 13.

Saint *Cyrl* is of the same iudgement. *Cui legis preuaticatores liberare licet nisi legis ipsius auctor?* Who can acquit them that breake the law, from transgression, beside the law-giuer? as we see by experience, in all humane states, no man can without danger, breake the law, but kings themselves, in whom the crime of preuication hath no place. For it was wisely said of one, that it is a wicked presumption, to say to a king, *Thou doest amisse*. So farre he.

In 1. epist. ad
Timoth. c. 2.
v. 1.

And also Saint *Chrysostome*. What meaneth the Apostle (saith he) to require prayers and supplications, intercessions, and thanksgiuing, to be made for all men? he requireth this to be done in the daily seruice of the Church, and the perpetuall rite of diuine religion. For all the faithfull do knowe, in what manner prayers are powred out before the Lord morning and euening, for all

all the world: euen for kings, and euery man in authoritie. Some man will (peradventure) say, that *for all*, must be vnderstood of all the faithfull. Which cannot be the Apostles meaning, as may appeare by the words following; *viz. for Kings*: seeing that kings, neither did then, nor in many ages after, serue the liuing God: but continued obstinately in infidelitie, which by course of succession they had receiued: Thus farre *Chrysost.* Our Moderne reformers teach vs that which *Paul* and *Chrysostome* neither knewe nor beleeued, that wicked Princes are not to be prayed for, but to be resisted, &c.

See the preface before Basilic. Dor.

When the faction of *Eutiches* had preuailed against the Catholikes, *Leo* the first, had no other remedie then prayers to God, sighes, teares, and petitions to the Emperour: *Omnes partium nostrarum ecclesie, &c.* All the Churches of these parts, all we Priests, euen with sighs, and teares, beseech your Maiestie, to command a generall Synode to be held in Italie, that all offences being remooued, there may remaine, neither error in faith, nor diuision in loue. Fauour the catholiques, grant libertie to protect the faith against heretiques, defend the state of the Church from ruine, that Christ his right hand may support your Empire: Thus farre *Leo*.

Epist. 34. ad Theodol. Imperat.

When *Gregorie* the great was accused for the murder of a Bishop in prison, he wrote to one *Sabinianus*, to cleare him to the Emperour and Emperesse. *Breniter suggeras serenissimis dominis meis*: You may briefly informe my soueraigne Lord and Ladie, that if I their seruant, would haue busied my selfe with the death of the *Lombards*, that nation would by this time haue had, neither Kings, nor Dukes, nor Earles, & should haue bin in

Epist. 1. 7. c. pist. 1.

great confusion and diuision: but because I stood in awe of God, I was euer afraid, to meddle with the shedding of any mans blood: so farre *Gregorie*. These *Lombards* were Pagans, invaders of the countrey, ransackers of the citie, persecutors of the Saints, robbers of the Church, oppressors of the poore: whom *Gregorie* the first, might, and would not destroy, *quia deum timuit*, because he feared God. It is verie like, that his successor *Gregorie* the seauenth, feared neither God nor man, when he erected the papall croisier against the regall scepter, and read the sentence of depriuation, against the Emperour *Henrie: Ego auctoritate apostolica, &c.* I by my power apostolicall, doe bereaue *Henrie* of the Germaine kingdom, and do depriue him of all subiection of Christian men, absolving all men, from the allegiance, which they haue sworne vnto him. And that *Rodolph*, whom the Peeres of the Empire haue elected, may gouerne the kingdome: I grant all men, that shall serue him against the Emperour, forgiuenesse of their sinnes, in this life and in the life to come. As I haue for his pride deiectioned *Henrie* from the royall dignitie, so I doe exalt *Rodolph* for his humilitie, to that place of authoritie: Thus farre *Gregor. 7.*

Carol. Sigon.
de Regno I-
tal. lib. 9. in
vita Hen. 3.

Benno Card.
in vit. Greg. 7

It is no wonder, that *Gregorie* his chaire claue a sunder, as some writers affirme, at the gining of this sentence: because the proud Pope, and his wicked sentence, were too heauie a burthen for *Peters* stoole of humilitie to beare.

The

The fourth Chapter prooveth the Immunitie of Kings by the Fathers of the third 300. yeares.

After the death of *Gregorie* the great, which was about the yeare of our Lord 604. *Sabinianus* did succcede him, who lived but one yeare, after whome came *Boniface* the 3. which obtained of *Phocas* to be called *Vniverſall Biſhop*; ſince that time, *perijt virtus Imperatorum & pietas Pontificum*, the Emperours waxed weake, and the Biſhops wicked. What the iudgemēt of thoſe Fathers then was, concerning ſubiection to wicked Kings, I will make euidēt by the teſtimonie of *Gregorius Turonenſis*, *Iſidorus*, *Damaſcenus*, *Beda*, *Fulgentius*, *Leo* 4. and the Fathers aſſembled in a Councell at *Toledo* in *Spaine*.

Gregorie Turonenſis acknowledgeth ſuch an absolute power in *Childericke*, a moſt wicked king of France, as was free from all controll of man. *Si quis de nobis (Rex) iniuſtitia limites transcendere voluerit, &c.* If any one of vs (O King) doe paſſe the bounds of iuſtice, you haue power to correct him, but if you exceede your limit, who ſhall chaſtice you? We may ſpeake vnto you, if you liſt not to harken, who can condemne you, but that *Great God*, who hath pronounced himſelfe to be righteouſnes? *hæc ætenuſ ille.*

Iſidorus ſaith no leſſe for the immunitie of the Kings of *Spaine*. Let all earthiy Princes know, that they ſhall giue account of the Church, which Chriſt hath committed to their proteſtion. Yea, whether the peace and diſcipline Eccleſiaſticall be aduanced, by faithfull Kings,

or dissolued by the vnsaithfull; he will require a reckoning at their hands, which hath left his Church in their power. So farre *Isidor*.

Parallel. lib.
1. c. 21.

John Damascene pleadeth not onely for the exemption of wicked kings themselues, but also of their Deputies. The gouernours (saith he) which Kings create, though they be wicked, though they be theeues, though they be vniust, or otherwise tainted with any crime, must be regarded. We may not contemne them, for their impietie; but must reuerence them, because of their authoritie, by whome they were appointed our gouernours. So farre he.

Fulgent. ad
Thrasim reg.

1. Pet. 2. 17.

Fulgentius saith, that no kinde of sedition can stand with religion. *Cum pro nostra fide libere respondemus, &c.* When we answer freely for our profession, we ought not to be taxed with the least suspicion of disobedience or contumely, seeing we are not vnmindfull of the Regall dignitie, and doe know, that we must feare God, and honour the King, according to the doctrine of the Apostle, Giue to each one his due, feare to whome feare, honour to whome honour appertaineth. Of the which feare and honour, *S. Peter* hath deliuered vnto vs the manifest knowledge, saying, As the seruants of God, honour all men, loue brotherly fellowship, feare God, honour the King. Thus farre *Fulgent*.

lib. 4. exposit.
in Samuel.

1. Sam. 24. 6.

Our countrie man *Beda*, for his great learning called *Venerable*, is of the same minde. *Dauid* (saith he) for two causes spared *Saul*, who had persecuted him most maliciously. First, for that he was his Lord, annointed with holy oile. And secondly, to instruct vs by morall precepts, that we ought not to strike our gouernours, (though

The dutie of Subiects.

23

(though they vniustly oppresse vs) with the sword of our lips: nor presume slanderously, to teare the hemme of their superfluous actions. So farre he.

Leo the fourth about the yeare 846. agnised all subiection to *Lotharius* the Emperour: I doe professe and promise (saith *Leo*) to obserue and keepe vniuolably, as much as lieth in me, for the time present and to come, your imperiall ordinances and commandements: together with the decrees of your Bishops, my predecessors: If any man informe your Maiestie otherwise, know certainly, that he is a lier. So farre *Leo*.

Cap. de capitulis, dist. 15.

The Bishops of Spaine assembled in a nationall councell at *Toledo*, made this decree against periurie and treason. *Quicumq; amodo ex nobis*: Whosoever among vs shall from this time forward, violate the oath which he hath taken for the safegard of this countrie, the state of the Gothish nation, & the preservation of the Kings Maiestie: whosoever shall attempt the Kings death, or deposition: whosoever shall by tyrannicall presumption aspire to the regall throne; let him be accursed before the holy spirit, before the blessed Saints, let him be cast out of the catholique Church, which he hath polluted by periurie, let him haue no communion with Christian men, nor portion with the iust, but let him be condemned with the deuill and his angels eternally, together with his complices, that they may be tied in the bond of damnation, which were ioyned in the societie of sedition. Thus farre the fathers in that Synod.

Concill. Tol.
5. Canon. 2.
circa annum
Dom. 636.

I conclude therefore with these learned Fathers, that it is not for the people, otherwise then with humilitie and obedience, to controll the actions of their gouernours:

nours : but their dutie is onely to call vpon the God of heauen, and so submitthemselues to his mercie, by whose ordinance the scepter is fallen into his hand and power, that enioyeth the crowne, whether he be good or bad. A right of deposing, must be either in him that hath an higher power, which is onely God: or in him, that hath better right to the crowne : which the Pope cannot haue, because he is a straunger: nor the Peeres, or people, because they are subiects. Be the king for his religion impious, for his gouernment vniust, for his life licentious, the subiect must endure him, the Bishop must reprocue him, the counsellor must aduise him, all must praie for him, and no mortall man hath authoritie to disturbe or displace him, as may euidently be seene by the chapter following.

The fifth chapter confirmeth this

Doctrine by the fathers of the fourth

300 yeares.

IN this age of the Church, the Popes exalted themselves aboue all that is called god, & vpon priuate displeasures and quarrels, did curse and ban Princes, incensing their neighbour-nations, and perswading their owne subiects, to make warre against them, as if Christ had ordeyned his Sacraments, not to be seales of grace, and helps of our faith, but hookes to catch kingdoms, and rods to scourge such Potentates as would not, or could not procure the Popes fauour. How farre these Popish practises, did displease the godly and learned, I will shew by *S. Bernard*, *Waltheramus* Bishop of *Nanumburg*, the epistle *Apogeticall* of the Church of *Leige* against

against *Paschalis* the Pope, and the author of *Henrie* the fourth his life.

S. Bernard, in one of his sermons vpon the words of *Christ*, *I am the vine*, commendeth the answer of a certaine King, *Bene quidam rex, cum percussus humana sagitta, &c.* It was well said of a King when he was shot into the bodie with an arrowe, and they that were about him, desired him to be bound vntill the arrowes head weare cut out, for that the least motion of his bodie would endanger his life: no (quoth he) it doth not beseeme a King to be bound, let the kings power be euer safe and at libertie. And the same father in an epistle to *Ludovicus Crassus* the king of France teacheth subiects, how to rebell and fight against their Princes; *Quicquid vobis de regno vestro de anima & corona vestra facere placuerit*: Whatsoever you please to doe with your kingdome, your soule, or your crowne, we that are the children of the Church cannot endure or dissemble the iniuries, contempt, and conculcation of our mother. Questionlesse we will stand and fight euen vnto death in our mothers behalfe, and vse such weapons, as we may lawfully, I mean not swords and speares, but praier and teares to God.

Bern. epist.
221.

When *Gregorie* the 7. had deposed *Henrie* the 4. he gaue away the Empire to one *Rodolphus* duke of *Saxonie*, that was a sworne subiect to that distressed Emperour: which *Rodolph*, in a batraile against his soueraigne Lord, lost his right-hand, and gained a deadly wound. After his death, the Pope made one *Hermanus* king of *Germanie*, who enioyed his kingdome but a little time, for he was slaine with a stone, which a woman threwe vpon him

Ex vita Hen.
quarti qua
habetur in
fasciculo re-
rum scienda-
rum Coloni-
æ impressio.

from a turret, as he made an assault (in sport) against his owne castle, to trie the valour of his souldiers. Then did *Egbertus*, by the Popes encouragement ascend the Imperiall throne, whereon he sat but a while: for as he stepped aside from his armie into a mill, to rest himselfe in the heat of the day, he was discovered by the miller to the Emperours friends, and lost his life for his labour. During this hurly-burly in that state, *Waltheramus* a godly Bishop, wrote to one *Ludovicus* an Earle of the Empire, diswading him from partaking with the seditious against that good Emperour, whom the Pope had deposed. *Waltheram* by the grace of God, that he is, to *Lewes* the noble Prince, with instance of prayer, offreth himselfe in all things seruiceable. Concord is profitable to euery realme, and iustice much to be desired: these vertues are the mother of devotion, and the consecration of all honestie. But whosoever seeketh after ciuill dissention, and incenseth other to the effusion of blood, he is a murderer, & partaketh with him, who gaping for blood, goeth about seeking whō he may deuour: The worthie vessel of election, that was taken vp to the third heauen, protesteth, saying, Let euerie soule submit himselfe to the higher power, there is no power but from God. He that resisteth power, resisteth the ordinance of God. If that be true (which some men prate among women and the vulgar sorte) that we ought not to be subdued to the kingly power, Then it is false which the Apostle teacheth, that euery soule must submit himselfe vnder power and superioritie. Can the truth lie? did not Christ the Lord speake by the Apostle? Why doe we prouoke the Lord? are we stronger then he? Doth not he thinke him-
selfe

Epistol. Wal.
quæ habetur
in appendice
Marian. Scot.

selfe stronger then the Lord, that resisteth the ordinance of God? seeing there is no power but of God: what saith the Prophet? Confounded be they that striue against the Lord, and they that resist him shall perish. *Rodolphus, Hermanus, Egbertus*, with many other Princes, resisted the ordinance of God, in *Henrie* the Emperour, but loe they are confounded, as though they had neuer beene, for as their end was ill, their beginning could nor be good, &c. *Hac ille.*

Pope *Paschalis* seeing the bad successe of those seditious subiects, which his predecessors *Gregorie* and *Vrbannus* had armed against *Henrie*, that worthie Emperour: did perswade the Emperours owne sonne, against all law of God; nature, and nations, to rebell against his Father. The Bishop of *Leige* tooke the Emperours part, against this young Prince, for the which he was excommunicate, his Church interdicted, and *Robert* Earle of Flaunders commanded by the Pope, as he hoped to haue the forgiuenes of his sinnes and the fauour of the Church of Rome, to destroie that Bishop and his false preists.

The Churchmen of *Leige* terrified with the Popes excommunication, and fearing the Earles oppression, wrote an *apologie* for themselves about the yeare 1106. We are excommunicate (say they) because we obey our Bishop, who hath taken part with his Lord the Emperour. These are the beginnings of sorrowe: for Sathan beeing loosed, compasseth the earth, and hath made a diuision betweene the Prince and the Priest: who can iustly blame the Bishop that taketh his Lords part, to whom he hath sworne allegiance? peritric is a great

Epistol. Leon-
dianum ap-
ud Simo-
nem Scard.

sinne, whereof they cannot be ignorant, that by newe schisme and nouell tradition, doe promise to absolue subiects from the guilt of periurie, that forswear themselves to their Lord the King, &c.

In the progresse of their *apologie* they determine three great questions: first, whether the Pope hath power to excommunicate Kings? Secondly, to whom it belongeth to inflict temporall punishment, when Church-men offend against faith, vnitie, or good manners? And thirdly, what remedie subiects haue against their kings, that are impious or tyrannous? *Si quis respectu sancti spiritus, &c.* If any man hauing respect to the spirit of God, shall turne ouer the old & new Testamēt, he shall plainly find that kings, ought not at all or very hardly be excommunicate, whether we consider the etimologie of their names, or the nature of their excommunication. Euen till this day hath this point been questioned, and neuer determined. Kings may be admonished and reprooued, by such as be discrete and sober men, for Christ the King of Kings in earth, who hath placed them in his owne stead, hath reserued them to his owne iudgement, &c.

Their answer to the second question, is grounded on the testimonie of *S. Augustine*, the practise of Princes, and the authoritie of Paul. Kings (say they) and Emperours by their publike lawes, haue forbidden heretiques, to enioye any worldly possession. Wherefore seeing we are no heretiques, and that it belongeth not to the Pope, but to kings and Emperours to punish heresies, why doth our Lord *Paschalis*, send Robert, his armourbearer, to destroe the possessions and to overthrow the villages of the Churches, which in case they deserued

deserued destruction, ought to be destroyed by the edict of Kings and Emperours, which carie the sword not without good cause? &c.

For answer to the third question, they shew by sundrie places of Scripture, that there is no other helpe against euill Princes, then prayer and patience: *Nihil modo pro Imperatore nostro dicimus, &c.* We will for the present say nothing in defence of our Emperour, but this we say, though he were as bad as you report him to be, we would endure his gouernment, because our finnes haue deserued such a gouernor. Be it: we must needs graunt against our will, that the Emperour is an Arch-heretike, an invader of the kingdome, a worshipper of the Simonaicall Idol, and accursed by the Apostles and Apostolike men, as you say of him: euen such a Prince ought not to be resisted by violence, but endured by patience and praier. *Moses* brought many plagues vpon *Pharaoh*, whose heart God had hardened, but it was by praier and the lifting vp his hands to heauen. And *S. Paul* requireth praiers to be made for all men; for Kings and such as are in authoritie: which kings were neither Catholikes nor Christians. *Baruch* also from the mouth of the Prophet *Ieremie*, wrote vnto the Iewes, which were captiues vnto the king of Babylon, that they must pray for the life of *Nabuchodonosor* the king of Babylon, and *Balthazar* his sonne, that their daies in earth may be as the daies of heauen, &c. *S. Paul* teacheth why we ought to pray for euill kings, namely, that vnder them we may lead a quiet life, It would become an Apostolike man, to follow the Apostles doctrine: it were propheticall to follow the Prophet, &c. Thus farre they in their Epistle Apologeticall.

Epist. Leod.

Vita Hen. 4.
quo supra.

He that wrote the life of this Emperour *Henrie* the fourth, anauncient, a modest, and an impartiall relator of such occurrents as happened in his time, declareth his dislike of the Popes practises, and the *Germanes* tumults against their said souteraigne Lord. *Magnum mundo documentum datum est:* A great instruction was giuen to the world that no man should rise against his master. For the hand of *Rodolph* beeing cut off, shewed a most iust punishment of periurie; he feared not to violate his fidelitie sworne to the King, and his right hand was punished, as if other woundes had not beene sufficient to bring him to his death, that by the plague of the rebellious, the fault of rebellion might be perceiued: thus farre he.

The sixth Chapter prooveth the same

by the testimonie of the Writers from the 12.
hundred yeares downeward.

I Will for conclusion produce *Otho Frisingensis*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Gratianus*, *Philip the faire king of France*, the Parliamēt of *England* in the time of *Edward the 1.* *Vincentius*, and *Aeneas Sylvius* that afterward was Pope, by the name of *Pius Secundus*.

Otho Frising.
in his epistle
dedicatorie
before his
Chronicle.

Otho Frisingensis hath an excellent saying in his epistle dedicatorie to *Frederick Barbarossa*, *Cum nulla persona mundialis inueniatur que mundi legibus non subiaceat, &c.* Although no earthly man can be found, that is not subiect to the lawes of the world, and in respect of subiection, liable to correction: Kings as it were placed ouer lawes, are not restrained by them, but referred to the ex-
amina-

amination of God, according to the words of the King and Prophet, *Against thee onely haue I sinned.* It becommeth therefore a king, both in respect of the noble disposition of his minde, and the spirituall illumination of his soule, to haue God, the king of kings, and Lord of lords, euer in his minde, and by all meanes possible, to take heede, that he fall not into the hands of God, seeing it is (as the Apostle saith) a fearefull thing to fall into the hands of the liuing God. It is more fearefull for kings, then for any other; because kings haue none but God himselfe above them, whome they neede feare. It shall be so much more horrible for them, by how much they may offend more freely, then other men. *So farre Otha.*

Thomas Aquinas; (if the tractate *de regimine principum* be his) maketh three sorts of kings: Kings by election, Kings by subordination, and Kings by succession. For the first, he saith, that they which did establish, may abolish: for the second, we must haue our recourse to him that did serrogate the subordinate King: as the Iewes did to Caesar against Herod: for the last, his resolution is, *Recurrendum esse ad omnium regem deum*, that we must flie to God, the King of all kings, in whose onely power it is, to mollifie the cruell heart of a tyrant. And that men, may obtaine this at the hands of God, they must cease from sinne; for wicked Princes, by diuine permission are exalted to punish the finnes of the people, *tollenda est ingitur culpa ut cesset tyrannorum plaga*, we must therefore remooue our finnes, that God may take away his punishment: Thus farre Thomas.

Gratianus, which compiled the decrees, is verie peremptorie, that the Bishop of Rome, ought not to medle with

psal. 51. 9.

Aquin. de regimine prin. lib. 1. c. 6.

with the temporall sword, the state of common wealthes, or the change of Princes. He saith nothing indeede *de Regni ordinibus*, which in his time, and a 100. yeares after him, neuer dreamed of any such authoritie. *Cum Petrus qui primus apostolorum à domino fuerat electus, materiam gladium exerceret*: When Peter whom the Lord had first chosen of all the Apostles, drewe the materiall sword, to defend his Master from the iniuries of the Iewes, he was commanded to sheath his sword: *for all that take the sword, shall perish by the sword*. As if Christ should haue said, Hitherto it was lawfull for thee and thine auncestors to persecute Gods enemies with the temporall sword, hereafter thou must put vp that sword into his place, and drawe the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, to slay the old man: who-soeuer beside the Prince, and without his authoritie, that hath lawfull power, and as the Apostle teacheth, *beareth not the sword in vaine*, to whom euerie soule must be subiect, who-soeuer (I say) without or beside the Princes authoritie, beareth the sword, shall perish by the sword: Thus farre *Gratian*.

Math. 26. 52.

Caus. 23.
quest. 8. pa-
rag. 1.

Rom. 13. 4.

About the yeare a 1300. began a quarrell betweene *Boniface 8.* and *Philippus Pulcher* the French king, about the collation of benefices, prebends, and other ecclesiasticall promotions. Whereupon the Pope wrote vnto the said king, as followeth: *Boniface* Bishop, the seruant of Gods seruants, to his wel-beloued sonne *Philip*, by Gods grace king of France, Greeting and blessing Apostolicall. Feare God and keepe his lawe: We giue thee to vnderstand that thou art subiect to vs both in spirituall things, and temporall, and that no gift of benefices or pre-

prebends belongeth to thee. If thou haue in thy hand any vacant, keepe the profits of them to the successors, and if thou hast bestowed any, we decree the collation void, and recall it, how farre soeuer it hath proceeded. Whosoever beleueeth otherwise, we account him a foole: Dated at *Lateran* the fourth of the Calends of December, and in the 6. yeare of our Papacie. King *Philip* returned his haughtinesse, a correspondent answer, viz. *Philip* by the grace of God, King of Fraunce, to *Boniface* bearing himselfe for Pope, *Salutem nostram sine* *Philip. Fulcher.*
nulla. Sciat tua maxima fatuitas. Little health or none at all. Let thy great foolethip know, that in temporall things we are subiect to no man. And that the gifts of prebends and ecclesiasticall promotions, made and to be made by vs, were and shall be lawfull, both in time past and in time to come. For such collations belong to vs in the right of our crowne: wherefore, we will manfully defend the possessours of the said dignities, and doe iudge them that thinke otherwise fooles and madmen. Given at Paris the wednesday after Candlemasse, 1301. Questionlesse this King that did so scornefully reiect the Popes challenge pretended from Christ, would little regard the claime of the Nobles, deriued but from the people. The same busie *Boniface*, of whom some write, that he came in like a fox craftely, raigned like a lion cruelly, and died like a dogge miserably, would take vpon him the decision of a controversie between the Kings of England & Scotland, and commanded King *Edward* of England either to cease his claime, or to send his procurators to the apostolike See, to shewe his right, and to receiue such order from the Pope, as iustice and equitie would require.

The Lords and commons then assembled in Parliament at *Lincolne* sent *Boniface* this answear in the kings behalse. Whereas our most dread Lord *Edward* by the grace of God, the Noble King of *England*, caused your letters to be read openly before vs, touching certaine occurrents of state betweene him and the King of *Scotland*, we did not a little marvaile at the contents thereof, so strange and wonderfull, as the like hath neuer beene heard of. We knowe (most holy father) and it is well knowne in this realme, and also to other nations, that the King of *England* ought not to make answer for his right before any iudge ecclesiasticall or secular: by reason of the free estate of his royall dignitie and custome, without breach at all times vniolably obserued: Wherefore after treatie had and diligent deliberation, this was our resolution, that our said king ought not to answer in iudgement, nor send procurators or messengers to your court: seeing that tendeth manifestly to the disinheriting of the right of the crowne, the ouerthrowe of the state of the kingdom, and the breach of the liberties, customes, and lawes of our fathers, for the keeping whereof, we are bound by the dutie of an oath, and will (by Gods helpe) maintaine and defend with all our power and strength, &c. Dated at *Lincolne Ann. Dom. 1301. Et anno Edwardi primi 29*. This was then the resolution of the state of this land: if our late sectaries *Popish* or *Puritan*, bring in any other doctrine, we may not leaue the cawsey of truth & obedience, whereon our forefathers walked to their commendation, to followe these newe guides, in their by-paths of pride, disobedience, and contempt of authority, to our destruction.

Parliament
at *Lincolne*
quoted by
M. Beken-
shaw.

Vincetinus in his *Speculo Historiali* hath a notable place to dissuade from sedition and periurie. *Vt pace omnium bonorum dixerim, hac sola monitas (ne dicam heresis) nec dum e mundo emerferas.* That I may speake with the fauour of all good men, this meere noueltie (if not heresie) was not sprung vp in the world, that preists should teach subiects, that they owe no subiection to wicked kings, and albeit they haue given an oath of fidelitie vnto them, they are not bound to keepe it: Nay they that obey an euill Prince, are to be held as excommunicated, and all such as rebell against him, are free from the guilt of the crime of periurie. So farre he.

I will end this chapter with *Aeneas Siluius*, who died in the yeare 1464. *Sis tandem finis litium*, Let there be an end of contention, and one principall head to determine all temporall matters; let the occasion of perpetuall debate be taken away, let men acknowledge themselves subiect to their Prince, & giue reuerence to him, whom God hath made his vicegerent on earth. As that which God commandeth must be obeyed without contradiction, so the temporall commandements of Caesar, may not be resisted. But let the Kings themselves beware that they oppresse no man vniustly, nor giue their people cause to crie to God against them, for the earth is the Lords and the fulnesse thereof: he will not forget the crie of the poore: and for the sinne of the Prince he translateth the gouernment from one nation to another. There is nothing more offensiue to the greatest God the king and creator of heauen and earth, then the neglect of iustice, and the oppression of the poore: as the Psalmist saith, The poore shall not alway be forgotten,

lib. 15. cap. 84

Pius a. de or-
tu & author.
imperij cap.
21.

and the patient abiding of the needie shall nor perish
for ever. So farre *Silvius*.

**The seventh Chapter sheweth the con-
cord of Papist and Puritan for the deposition of Kings,
and their discord about the meanes and per-
sons to be employed in the execution
of their designements.**

Childerick was deposed, and *Pipine* crowned King
of France about the yeare 750. The truth of which
historic is this. *Childericke* voide of all princely grauitie,
gaue himselfe over to pleasure and wantonnesse, leauing
the burthen of the state to *Pipinus*, that was his Lord
Marshall. Who conspired with the Nobles, to aduance
himselfe, by the deposition of the king his master. To set
a better colour on the matter, *Pipine* sent his Chaplaine
to Pope *Zacharie*, to haue his answer to this Question:
*whether should be King, he that bare the name and did nothing,
or he that gouerned the kingdome?* The Pope gaue sentence
with the Marshall against the King, whereupon, *Childe-
rick* was made a shorne Monke, and *Pipine* a crowned
king.

It is a wonder to see how these opposite sectaries, do
insist vpon this fact of the Frenchmen, to iustifie their
dangerous doctrine, and seditious conspiracies against
Princes. As Card. *Bellarmino de pontif. lib. 2. cap. 17.*
Thomas Harding against the *Apologie* of the Church of
England fol. 181. Franc. *Fenardentius* in his commen-
taries on *Hester* pag. 85. *Boucher alias Raynolds de iusta ab-
dicacione Henrice. 3. lib. 3. cap. 14.* *Ficklerus de iure ma-*

*gistratum fol. 38. Alexander Carerius patavinus de potestate
papa lib. 2. cap. 3. D. Martade temporali & spirituali ponti-
ficis potestate lib. 1. cap. 33. and Doleman in his conference tou-
ching succession parte. 1. cap. 3. pag. 48. And also these Pu-
ritans, Christopher Goodman in his treatise of obedience pag.
53. George Buchanan de iure Regni apud Scotos p. 47. Dinaus
de politia Christiana lib. 3. cap. 6. pag. 221. Brutus Celta de iu-
re magistratum pag. 286. Phyladelphus dialogo 2. pag. 65.
Franc. Hotomanus in his Francogallia cap. 12. and Speculum
tyrannidis Philippi Regis pag. 227. The Papisis which ascribe
this deposing power to the pope, endeavour by tooth
and naile, to disprove that interest which the Puritans
grant the peeres or the people. First, this example served
Gregorie 7. to excuse his presumptuous practices against
Henrie the fourth. *Quidam Ramanus pontifex.* A certaine
Bishop of Rome deposed a king of France, not so much
for his ill life, as for that he was not fit for government,
and placed *Pipine*, which was father to *Charles the great*,
in his place: absolving all the Frenchmen from the oath
of allegiance, which they had sworn to their king.
Thus farre *Gregorie* in an epistle to one *Herimannus*, that
was Bishop of Metz in France.*

lib de vnit.
Eccl. apud
Scard. pag. 3.

Thomas Harding concludeth from this fact, a diuine
power in the pope. Can you not see (saith *Harding*) what
strength and power is in the pope, which is able with
a word, to place and displace the mightiest King in Eu-
rope? with a word, I say, for I am sure you can shew us
of no armie, that he sent to execute his will. Is it in the
power of a man (thinke you) to appoint kingdomes, can
the Deuill himselfe, at his pleasure ser vp and depose
Kings? no surely. Much lesse can any member of his do

Confut. of
the Apolog.
fol. 181.

the same. Remember you what Christ said, when the Iewes obiected, that he did cast out deuils in the name of the prince of deuils? beware you sinne not against the holy Ghost, who confesse that the Pope hath pulled downe and set vp Kings. Which thing vndoubtedly he could neuer do profitably and peaceably, but by the great power of God, &c. So farre *Harding*.

De Pontif.
lib. 2. cap. 17.

Cardinall *Bellarmino* the grand-master of Controversies, cannot indure to heare that this deposition was done by any other then the papall authoritie. The Pope (saith he) *Iudicauit licere Frauncis, regnum Childerici in Pipinum transferre*. The Pope gaue iudgement that the Frenchmen might lawfully transfer *Childericks* kingdome to *Pipin*: and did absolue them from the oath which they had sworne vnto him. No man that hath his right wit can denie this to be lawfull. For the very euent hath prooued, that change to be most fortunate: seeing the kingdome of Fraunce, was neuer more potent, nor religion more flourishing, then vnder *Pipin* and *Charles* his sonne. Thus farre *Bellarmino*.

Benuentus
Imolensis.

This Cardinals reason from the successe to the approbation of the fact, will conclude well for the Turke, who hath longer continued, more flourished and enlarged his state, then the house of *Pipin*. Heare in a word the true succes of *Pipins* posteritie out of *Benuentus Imolensis* and *Paulus Amilius*. The first of that line was *Charles* the great, in whose time the Empire was diuided. The second was *Ludonius Pius*, against whome *Lotharius*, an vnnaturall sonne, did conspire: who thrust his father to a cloister, and placed himselfe in the throne, where he sate like a tyrant, till he was also deposed. The
fourth

fourth was *Ludovicus* 2. a man vnfortunate in all his doings. The fifth was *Ludovicus* 3. whome they call *Ludovicus nihil*, or *Lewes* no-bodie. The 6. was Charles the bald, a very coward. The 7. was *Charolus Crassus*, as very a-foole. *Arnulphus* the eight of that progenie, was eaten with lice. The 9. was *Ludovicus* 4. in whome that race ended.

Paulus Aemilius.

Alexander Carerius inferreth the absolute soueraignie of the Pope ouer all Kings, euen to depose them, and to transpose the Realmes, from the insufficiencie of the Nobles and people. *Esto quod verum sit Papam, non deposuisse regem Francia*: Be it true that the Pope did not depose the king of France, but gaue consent to the Peeres and people to depose him, this is a most manifest prooffe of our intent: that kings haue one, if not many superiours, viz. the Barons and people of their kingdom: and ouerthroweth their position and conclusion, *That Kings haue in temporall things no superiour*, no, not the Bishop of Rome. But seeing the Barons & people, could neither iudge nor depriue him, because they wanted coadiuue power, which Vassalls or subiects haue not ouer their soueraigne, it followeth necessarily, that the Pope by his princely power, as superior to the King in temporalities, might lawfully depose him. Thus farre *Carerius*.

de potestate Pontif. l. 1. cap. 3. num. 6.

D. Marta, is as peremptorie for the Pope, against the pretended claime of the Peeres or the people. *Childericus priuatus est regno Francia ob stupiditatem & ineptitudinem in administrando*: Childerick was depriued of the kingdom of France, for his stupiditie and vnfitness to gouerne. They that say he was not depriued by the Pope alone, but by them that desired another king, doe not

de temp. &
spir. Pontif.
potest. par.
1. cap. 23. nu.
15, 16, 17.

not answer the reasons alledged for the Popes soueraign power in temporalities: nay they confirme the Popes power. *Baldus* asketh this question, when the Emperour is vnprofitable, or madde, or a drunkard, may the people depose him, or assigne him a coadintor? No, saith he, the Pope must doe it, for the Pope is the crowne and braine of the people. And we haue proued before, that God did giue no iurisdiction to the people, but to *Moses* and his successors. Wherefore the vassals or Peeres which represent the people, haue no power common with the Pope, in the deposing of Princes: And it that they say, that the Frenchmen desired another king, it is a great confirmation, that the Pope hath right to dispose of kingdomes. He useth to desire, who hath not of his owne: or cannot of himselfe effect that, which he would haue done: Thus farre *Marta*.

They that plead for the state of the *Laitie*, are as confident against the Pope and clergie. *Et paucis dicam* (saith *Iunius*) *hoc fecit Zacharias ut dominus aut ut mandatarius, auctoritate instructus à domino*, that I may vse fewe words, the Pope deposed *Childericke* either as his Lord, or as a mandatarie hauing authoritie from the Lord; but he did it neither way. Not as Lord, how could he be Lord in France, that in those dayes had no Lordship in Rome? he did it not as mandatarie, for then he ought to haue shewed his authoritie, which he neither did, nor could shewe. Christ would not diuide a priuate inheritance, shall *Zacharie* then presume to depose kings or transpose kingdomes? Thus farre *Iunius*. *Ceterum quod monachus iste* (saith *Lambertus Daneus*) whereas this monke *Bellarmino* contendeth, that *Childericke*

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dericke was lawfully deposed by Pope *Zacharias*, a stranger, a Priest, no Magistrate, but (in this respect) a priuate person, though he were Bishop of Rome. Will he euer be able to prooue or defend his assertion? Can *Zacharie* haue authorie in *France*, being a stranger? can he depose the publike Magistrate, beeing but a priuate person? or transerre that principality to *Pipin* that he hath no right vnto? and commit so many sacriledges and impieties, stealing from *Childericke*, and giuing to *Pipin* another mans right? authorising subiects to violate their oaths, which they had sworne to their king? transposing kingdomes from one man to another, whereas it doth onely belong to God to depose kings, and dispose of kingdomes? thou maist see (*Bellarmino*) how many outrages this thy *Zacharie* hath committed, beside that he did thrust his sickle into an other mans haruest, and medled with the cobbler beyond his last, in that, beeing but a Priest he tooke vpon him the decision of the right of kingdomes. Thus farre *Daneus*, who is not so violent against the Pope, as he is virulent for the deposing power of Peeres, or states of the kingdome. The kings (saith he) of Lacedemonia had the *Ephors* to controll them. The states-men of the Romane common-wealth, deposed the Emperours, which were tyrants, and abused their authoritie. The French-state hath often dethroned their kings: The Nobles of Spaine may doe it by their law: And the historie of the Scottish affaires (excellently well written by * *Buchanan*) doth report that the states-men of that countrie, haue many times depriued the kings of Scotland. Finally, naturall reason, and the practise of all nations doth confirme, that the states-men in euery

Resp. Danai ad Bellar. l. 3. c. 17. p. 316.

Daneus pol. Christian. l. 6. c. 3. pag. 414.

* *mus musculum scabie.*

F I king-

cap. 13.

kingdome, may depose kings, that are peccant. So farre he. *Hottoman* in his *Franco Gallia*, hath a long chapter to prooue, that this might be done lawfully, by the Peeres, or the people, but in no case by the Pope or the clergie.

Men cannot saie (as it is in the prouerbe) *nimum altercando veritas amittitur*, seeing that in this opposition, the truth is not lost, but diuided among them. For their premisses, brought together, wil vnauidably conclude, that this deposing power, is neither in the Pope, the Peeres, nor the people. Though it were, the reason of the seditious *Papists* and *Puritans*, à *facto adius*, is sophisticated in the schooles, where nothing can be concluded *ex meris particularibus*, of meere particular instances. Absurd in law, *quia legibus non exemplis vivitur*, for men must doe as the law requireth, not as other men practise. Erroneous in diuinitie, *non ideo quia factum credimus, faciendum credamus, ne violemus praeceptum dum sectamur exemplum*: We may not doe that, which hath beene done by other men, least we breake the law of of God, in following the example of man. And dangerous in policie, as my *Lord of Northampton*, the ornament of learning, obserueth. The flie (saith that noble Earle) sitting on the cart wheele, might as well wonder at the dust raised in the way, as *Gregorie* or *Zacharie*, draw counsell to power, and make that fact their owne, which was hammered in the forge of ambition, countenanced with the colour of necessitie, and executed by *Pipin*, a minister, that beeing wearie of subordination, resolved by this trick, when the meanes were fitted and prepared to the plot, to make himselfe absolute. The case of Kings were pitifull, if *ex factis singularibus*,

August. ad
Consen. de
mendacio
cap. 9.

gularibus, it were lawfull to drawe leaden rules in their disgrace. Thus farre the Earle.

The eight Chapter sheweth the danger

of this Doctrine, and the originall of the Puritan position, concerning the power of stasiesmen to punish and depose Princes in Monarchies.

THESE desperate attempts, suggested by the Devill, executed by the people, encouraged by the state, & approoved by the Pope, must serue as admonitions to Princes, to humble themselues before God: *Qui non dabit sanctos suos in captionem dentibus eorum*, who will not giue his Saints for a pray to their teeth. For it is not heard (as our great King remembreth) *That any Prince forgeteth himselfe in his dutie to God, or in his vocation? But God with the greatnesse of the plague reuengeth the greatnesse of his ingratitude.*

Law of Monarch. p. 60.

These practises therefore must be no president for Peeres, or people to follow, because God hath forbidden Christian subiects to resist, though kings raigne as Tyrants; & commanded them to endure with patience, though they suffer as Innocents. And also, because that in stead of releuing the Common-wealth out of distresse, which is euer the pretence of seditious practitioners, they shall heape mischeefe on it, and desolation on themselues: as (*Aquinas*) if he be the author of the booke *de regim. principum*, sheweth manifestly. *Effet multitudini periculosum & eius rectoribus*: It were dangerous to subiects and gouernours, that any should at-

de regim. princ. l. i. c. 6.

tempt to take away the life of princes, though they were tyrants: for commonly, not the well disposed, but the ill affected men, doe thrust themselves into that danger. And the gouernment of good Kings, is as odious to bad men, as the rule of tyrants to good people. Wherefore the kingdome, by this presumption would be rather in danger to forgoe a good prince, then a wicked tyrant. So farre *Thomas*.

Chrysostom.

They that are the authors or abettors of sedition, can neither avoide shame in earth, nor escape eternall damnation. Though God the great Iudge do sometime permit rebels, in his Iustice to preuaile against Kings, for their contempt of the lawe of the highest, and the neglect of their owne dutie. The reward of rebellion shall be no better then the recompence of Sathan, who is the instrument of the Lords wrath for the punishment of all disobedience. It is most true that as sicke men, neere their death, haue many idle fancies, so the world before the ende thereof shall be troubled with many errors. In these declining dayes of the world, many countreys, Cities, and Cantons, renounced their old gouernment, and submitted themselves to such a newe regiment as they best liked: for confirmation of which practises, there wanted nor politike Diuines, (what wine is so soure that some hedge grapes will not yeeld) to inuest the people and Nobles with the power ouer Kings, to dispose of their kingdomes. The heathen *Politicians* from whome this politike Diuinitie is deriued, knowing not the true God, and having no rule to direct them, but naturall reason, thought him no murtherer, but a *defender of his country that killed tyrants*. But this pagan principle, beeing a plant,

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plant, that *Christ* hath not planted, must be plucked vp by the rootes. I can finde no ground of this leud learning, beyond 220. yeares in the Christian world: the first authors of it beeing *Iohannes de Parisiis*, *Iacobus Almain*, and *Marsilius Patavinus*: *Vbi peccat rex in temporalibus*, saith *Iohannes de Parisiis*, *papa non habet ipsum corrigere*: when the king offendeth in the temporall gouernement, the Pope hath no authoritie to correct him, but the Barons or Peeres of the Realme, and if they either cannot, or dare not meddle with him, they may craue the the Churches aide to suppress him: so farre *Iohn of Paris*.

Ioh. de Paris
de potest. regia & papali
cap. 14.

Tota communitas (saith *Iacob Almain*) *potestatem habet principem deponere*. All the communalty, hath power to depose their Prince, which power the communalty of France vsed, when they deprivèd their king, not so much for his impietie, as for his disabilitie to manage so great a charge: so farre *Almain*. *Regis depositio & alterius institutio* (saith *Marsilius Patavinus*) the deposition of a king, and the institution of another in his place, belongeth not to the Bishop of Rome, to any priest, or to the colledge of priests, but to the vniuersall multitude of the subiects. So farre he.

Iacob Almain de potest. eccles. cap. 1.

Marsil. Patav. de translatione imperij cap. 6.

From these, the *Puritans* haue learned their error, of the power of *States-men* ouer *Kings*, then which, no opinion can be more daungerous: where the Nobilitie are as readie to practise, as the *Puritan* preachers are to prescribe. What presumption is it in men, to passe the bounds which God hath set them, to controll the wisdom of the Lord, and his vnspeakable goodnes, when he maketh triall of the patience of his Saints, by the outrage and tyrannie of cruell kings, that they which are

found patient in trouble, constant in truth, and loyall in subiection, may be crowned with glorie. Were we perswaded, that the *hearts of Kings are in Gods hand*, that the haire of our head are numbred, and that no affliction can befall vs, which God doth not dispose to the exercise of our faith, the triall of our constancie, or the punishment of our sinne, we would as well admire the iustice of God, in permitting tyrants, that our sinnes may be iudged, and punished in this world, as praise his mercie and fauour, in giuing rest to his seruants, vnder the protection of godly and gracious princes.

The ninth Chapter sheweth the generall consent of the Moderne Puritans touching the coercion, deposition, and killing of Kings whome they call tyrants.

THE Citizens of *Geneua*, changed the gouernment from a *Monarchie* to a *Democratie* in the yeare of Christ, 1536. In the which yeare, *John Calvin* came into that Citie, to visit his freind *Farellus*; And was chosen the publike reader of diuinitie. At his first comming thither, he published his *Theologicall institutions*. Wherein he doth verie learnedly, and Christianly intreat of the authoritie of princes, and the dutie of subiects. One onely place is harsh, and dangerous: deliuered in obscure, and doubtfull tearmes, to excuse (as I conceiue) the outrage of the Citizens, against their prince, whom they had not many weekes before expelled: not to authorise other men to attempt the like against their soueraigne Magistrates. His words are these, *Si qui sunt*
popu-

populares Magistratus, ad moderandam regum libidinem constituti. If there be any popular Magistrates, to restrain the licentiousnesse of Kings, of which kinde were the Ephori opposed against the Lacedemonian Kings, the Tribunes of the people, which curbed the Romane Consuls, and the Demarchie which bridleed the Senate of Athens; And such peradventure as things now stand are the three states in euery kingdome, assembled in Parliament. I doe not denie, but these in regard of their dutie, stand bound to repressse the virulinesse of licentious kings: Nay, I affirme, that if they doe but winke at at those kings, which peeuishly make hauck of their people, and insult against their communalitie, that they want not the guilt of hainous treacherie, because they betray the libertie of the people, whose guardians they know themselues to be appointed. Thus farre Calvin. Since which time all Puritans haue turned his conjunction *conditionall*, into an *illative*, his aduerb of doubting to an *affirmative*, and his permissive, *non veto*, into a verb of the *imparative* moode, in their books of regiment secular, and discipline Ecclesiasticall.

Christopher Goodman, published a treatise of obedience at Geneva, not without the verie good liking and approbation of the best learned in that citie, 1557. wherein he affirmeth, That if Magistrates transgresse Gods lawe themselues, and command others to doe the like, they loose that honour, and obedience which otherwise is due vnto them: and ought no more to be taken for Magistrates: but to be examined and punished as priuate transgressors: so farre Goodman.

Much about the same time was Knoxe his appellation prin-

Geneva,
fol. 56.

printed in the same place, wherein he feareth not to affirme, That it had beene the dutie of the Nobilitie, Iudges, Rulers, and people of England not onely to haue resisted *Marie*, that *Iezabel* whom they call their *Queene*, but also to haue punished her to the death, with all such as should haue assisted her, what time that she opely began to suppress Christ's Gospel, to shed the blood of the Saints, and to erect that most deuillish Idolatrie, the papisticall abominations, and his vsurped tyrannie. Thus farre *Knox*.

pag. 216.

Ann. 1560. Theodore Beza printed his *Confessions*, wherein he auoucheth, That there are vices inherent in the persons of Princes, though they be lawfully established, by succession, or election, viz. Vngodlinesse, couetousnesse, ambition, crueltie, luxurie, lecherie, and such like sinnes which tyrants delight in. What shall be done in this case to these Princes? *Answer* (saith he) that it belongeth to the superiour powers, such as are the 7. electors in the Empire, and the statesmen of the kingdome almost in euerie Monarchie, to restraine the fury of tyrants, which if they doe not, they are traytors to their countryes, and shall before the Lord giue an account of their treacherie. Thus farre *Beza*.

Rerum Scot.
L. 17. p. 550.

1561. The verie year after there was a contention betweene the Nobilitie and Clergie of Scotland about this matter, (as *Buchanan* reporteth:) let him tel his owne tale. *Calendis Novembribus regina ad Missam*: The *Queene* vpon the feast of All-Saints, added to her priuate Masse all the solemnities and superstitious ceremonies of the Papists; The Ministers of the Gospel tooke it verie ill, complained thereof to the people, in their

their publike congregations, and admonished the nobilitie of their dutie in that behalfe: whereupon rose a controversie in a house of private meeting, between the Nobles and Preachers, whether the Nobles may restraine Idolatrie, that is like to breake out to a generall destruction: and by rigor of law, compell the cheefe Magistrate to his dutie, when he exceedeth his bounds? The Ministers of the Church stood stedfast in opinion, as they had formerly done, that the cheefe Magistrate may be compelled euen by forcible meanes to liue according to law: but the Noble men because of the *Queenes* fauour, hope of honour, or loue of lucre, did a litle wauer, and thought otherwise then the Ministers: and so in the end iudgement passed with the Nobles, because they were more in number and of better esteeme and reputation. Thus farre *Buchanan*.

Note how basely the Puritans esteeme the Nobilitie when they thwart them.

1568. The outlandish Churches in London concluded this Canon in a classcall Synode, *Si quisquam repugnantibus legibus patria*: If any man vsurpe Lordship, or Magistracie, against the lawes and priuiledges of the countrie, or if he that is a lawfull Magistrate, doe vniustly bereaue his subiects of the priuiledges, and liberties which he hath sworne to performe vnto them, or oppresse them by manifest tyrannie, the inferiour officers must oppose themselves against him, for they are in dutie bound before God, to defend their people, as well from a domesticall, as a forraigne tyrant. Thus farre they.

Beza epist. 24.

1574. We had swarmes of caterpillers: namely, *Disciplina Ecclesiastica* from Rochel, to teach vs, that the senate Ecclesiasticall hath the cheefe moderation of the

fol. 145.

Christian Societie, and ought to provide that no Magistrate be defectiue in his charge, and by common care, counsell, and authoritie to ouersee, that euerie gouernour cary himselfe faithfully in his Magistracie. Thus farre that author.

pag. 48.

Franco-Gallia from *Colen*, wherein we finde that the people hath power to dethrone their Princes.

pag. 306.

Iunius de iure Magistratum (as some thinke from *Germania*), wherein it is said, that the people haue the same right to depose kings that are tyrants, which a generall counsell hath to displace a Pope that is an heretique.

dialogo. 3.
pag. 37.

Eusebius Phyladelphus from *Edenbruge*, wherein we read, that it was as lawfull for his brethren of France, to defend themselves against the tyrannie of *Charles* the ninth, King of that name in France, as for wayfaring men to resist and repell theeues, cutthroats, and wolues: nay further, I am (saith he) of opinion with the old people of Rome, that of all good actions the murther of a tyrant is most commendable. Thus farre he.

pag. 206.

1577. came forth the *Vindicia contra Tyrannos*, with this resolution, That Princes are chosen by God, established by the people: every priuate man is subiect to the Prince: the Multitude and the officers of state which represent the Multitude, are superiours to the Prince: yea they may iudge his actions, and if he make resistance, punish him by forcible meanes. So farre he.

lib. 3. c. 6.

1584. *Daneus* finished his booke of Christian policie, wherein among many other he propoundeth, and answereth a *Noble question*, as he termeth it. *Nobilis questio sequitur*. A noble question followeth, whether it be lawful for subiects to change and alter their gonerment?

Yea

Yea whether it may be done by godly men with a good conscience? his answer is. The cheefe Magistrate, that notoriously and willfully violateth the fundamentall lawes of the kingdome, may be displaced by godly subiects, with a good conscience. And this is his reason, *Reges summiq; Magistratus*, Kings and cheefe Magistrates are the vassalls of the kingdome, and of the Commonwealth where they rule: Wherefore, they may be dispossessed & deiectioned when they shall obstinately attempt any thing, against the feudall lawes of the kingdome where they gouerne, as Kings and cheefe Magistrates. And it is truly said, that as a generall councell, is aboue the Pope, so the kingdome or the Peeres of the Land, are aboue the King. Thus farre *Danau.*

1585. George Buchanan proclaimed rewards aswell ^{de iure Reg. pag. 31.} for murdering kings as killing tygres. If I (saith he) had power to make a law, I would command tyrants to be transported from the societie of men into some solitarie place, or els to be drowned in the bottome of the sea, that the euill sauour of dead tyrants should not annoy liuing men. Furthermore I would award recompence to be giuen for the slaughter of tyrants, not onely of all in generall, but of euery one in particular, as men vse to reward them for their paines which kill wolues or beares, and destroy their young ones. *hec ille.*

The same yeare Thomas Cartwright commended Dudley Fenner's his *Sacra Theologia* (as they call his booke) to the world, wherein men are warranted by sundry texts of Scripture, most miserably abused, to destroy tyrants. Therein he (following the common opinion of the *Puritans*) maketh two sorts of tyrants, *Tyrannus sine titulo*, ^{lib. 5. cap. 23. pag. 185.}

and *Tyrannus exercitio*. For the tyrant without title: He is confident, that any man may cut his throat. *Huc quisq; priuatus resistet, etiam si potest e medio tollat*, let euerie private man resist him, and if he can, take away his life. For the Tyrant exercent: hauing described him to be a Prince, that doth wilfully dissolue all, or the chiefeft compacts of the commonwealth, he concludeth against him, *Hunc tollant, vel Pacifice vel cum Bello, qui ea potestate donati sunt, ut regi Ephori vel omnium ordinum conventus publicus*: The Peeres of the kingdome or the publique assembly of states, ought to destroy him, either by peaceable practises, or open warre. *hec ille*.

Anno. 1588. *Hermanus Renecherus* published obseruations vpon the first *Psalme*, wherein he investeth the *Presbiterie* with all the *Popes* prerogatiues. Concerning the *Presbiterian* power ouer kings. This is his notable annotation: God (saith he) hath ordained the Ciuill Magistrate for the good of the ecclesiasticall order, therefore the ecclesiasticall state is the highest throne of Gods earthly kingdome, the supream seat of all excellencie, and the chiefeft court wherein God himselfe is president, to distribute eternall gifts to his servants. Whereas the politicall Empire is but as it were an inferiour bench, wherein iustice is administred according to the prescription of the ecclesiasticall soueraigntie: Thus saith *Renecherus*.

Robert Rollocke, a man otherwise verie learned, is caried with the current of this error, and borrowed his assertion of *M. Fenner*, whose words he expoundeth by way of *paraphrasis*, in his commentaries on *Daniel* printed at *Edinburge*, 1591. Though the chiefeft lawfull Magistrate (saith

pag. 72.

In Daniel.
c. 5. p. 150.

(saith *M. Rolloske*) doe many things vnjustly and tyrannously, he may not rashly be violated, by them especially which haue not authoritie: but the Nobles or the publike assemblie of states, must reduce him to his dutie, by reproofe and all other lawfull meanes, 1. Sam. 14. 46. If he doe still persist in open and desperate tyrannie, wilfully dissolving all or the chiefest compacts of the common weath, priuate men must not yet meddle with him, onely the Peeres, or the publike assemblie of all states to whom that charge belongeth, must provide that the Church and Commonweath come not to desolation: though it cannot otherwise be done, then by the death and destruction of the tyrant. Better it is that an euill king be destroyed, then the Church and state together ruined. Thus saith *Rolloske*. For prooffe he referreth his reader first to the 1. Sam. 14. 46. viz. *Then Saul came vp from the Philistims, and the Philistims went to their own place: ergo* Kings that are wicked may be reduced to their dutie by the Peeres, or assemblie of states according to the rules of the newe *Puritan logique*. Secondly, for the killing and destroying of kings, he referreth his readers to the 2. regum c. 11. v. 4. 5. 6. 7. which place I thinke he neuer vouchsafed to looke vpon, but set it downe as he found it quoted in *Fenners* diuinitie, from whom he hath taken all the rest.

I will make an end with *William Bucanus*, whose booke was published at the request, and with the approbation of *Beza* and *Goulartius*, maine pillars of the Church of Geneva. 1602. They (saith *Bucanus*) which haue any part of office in the publike administration of the Commonwealth, as the Ouerseers, Senators, Consuls, Peeres,

1000 76. page 814

or Tribunes, may reſtraine the inſolencie of euill kings. Thus farre he.

This *Puritan-dangerous* error is directly repugnant to the Law, the Goſpel, the precepts of the Apoſtles, the praſtiſe of Martyrs, and the doctrine of the Fathers, Councels, and other claſſicall Writers, as I haue prooued in the ſixe former Chapters: and will more directly ſhew (by the grace of God) in my other booke: wherein the holy texts of Scripture, which the *Papiſts* and *Puritans* doe damnably abuſe againſt the Eccleſiaſticall and Ciuill authoritie of Kings, ſhall be answered by the godly Proteſtants: whoſe labour God vſed to reforme his Church ſince the yeare of our Lord, 1517. and by the ancient Fathers and orthodoxall Writers in euery age of the Church. This *Puritan-poſition*, which authoriſeth Nobles and aſſemblies of States againſt wicked kings, is the very aſſertion of the moſt ſeditious Ieſuits, that haue liued in our age, as I will demonſtrate by two or three: *Iohannes Mariana*, whoſe booke ſeemeth to be written in defence of *Clement* the fryer, who ſtabbed *Henric* the 3. king of France. The faults and licentiousnes of kings (ſaith *Mariana*) whether they raigne by conſent of the people, or right of inheritance, are to be borne and endured, ſo long as the laws of ſhamefaſtnes and honeſtie, whereto all men be bound, are not violated: for Princes ſhould not raſhly be diſturbed, leaſt the commonwealth fall into greater miſerie and calamitie. But if the Prince make hauock of the commonwealth, and expoſe the priuate fortunes of his ſubiects for a pray to other men, if he deſpiſe law, & contenne religion, this courſe muſt be taken againſt him. Let him be admoniſhed and recalled to his

his dutie: if he repent, satisfie the Wealepublike, and amend his faults, there ought (as I thinke) to be no further proceeding against him. But if there be no hope of his amendment, the commonwealth may take away his kingdome. And because that cannot be done (in all likelihood) without warre, they may leuie power, brandish their blades against their king, and exact money of the people, for the maintenance of their warre: for when there is no other helpe, the Peeres of the commonwealth, hauing proclaimed their king a publike enemy, may take away his life. Thus farre *Mariana*.

The Statesmen of the Kingdome (saith *Franciscus Feuardentius*) haue a soueraigne power over their Kings: In Hester. c. 1. pag. 88. for Kings are not absolutely established, but stand bound to obserue lawes, conditions, and compacts, to their subiects: the which, if they violate, they are no lawfull Kings, but theeves and tyrants, punishable by the states. Thus farre *Feuardentius*.

Inferiour Magistrates (saith *Iohannes Baptista Ficklerus*) de iure magistr. fol. 18. are the defenders and protectours of the lawes and rightes of the state, and haue authoritie (if need require) to correct and punish the supream King. So farre *Ficklerus*.

An English fugitiue, which was the author of the booke *de iusta abdicatione Henrici Tertij*, affirmeth, That all the Maiestie of the kingdome, is in the assembly of Statesmen, to whom it belongeth to make covenants with God, to dispose of the affaires of the kingdome, to appoint matters pertaining to warre and peace, to lb 3. cap. 8. bridle the kingly power, and to settle all things that belong to publike gouernment. So farre he.

And

part. i. c. 4.
pag 72.

And the most seditious *Doleman* saith, that all humane lawe and order naturall, Nationall, and positive, doth teach, that the commonwealth, which gaue Kings their authoritie for the common good, may restraîne or take the same from them if they abuse it to the common ill: so farre *Doleman*, and of this opinion are many other as may appeare by *D. Morton* by whom they are discovered and refuted.

How farre this gangrene will extend, I knowe not. The kings of Christendome are daily crucified, (as Christ their Lord was) betweene two theecues; I meane the *Papist* and *Puritan*, which haue prepared this deadly poyson for Princes, whom they in their owne irreligious and traitèrous hearts, shall condemne for tyrannie. I hope neither Peeres nor people will be so fond to beleue them, or wicked to followe them, which pretend the reformation of religion, and defend the subuersion of Christian states. If inferiour officers, or the public assembly of all States, will claime this power, it standeth them vpon, (as they wil avoid euerlasting damnation) not to deriue a title from Rome, Lacedemon, or Athens, (as *Calvin* doth, whom the rest followe) but from the hill of *Sion*, and to plead their interest from the law or the gospell. *Si mandatum non est presumptio est, & ad penam proficiet, non ad premium: quia ad contumeliam pertinet conditoris, ut contempto Domino colantur serui, & spreto Imperatore, adorentur Comites.* If their opposition against Kings be not commanded of God, it is presumption against God: for it is a contumely against God the creator of all states, to despise Lords and honour seruants, to contemne the soueraigne Empe-
rour,

August. in
quest. mixt.

roure, and to reuerence the Peeres of the Empire. So farre *Augustine*. My sonne (saith Salomon) feare God and the King, and meddle not with the seditions: for their destruction shall come sodainly, and who knoweth the end of them? Prou. 24. 21.

The conclusion of all is, That Kings haue supreme and absolute authoritie vnder God on earth, not because all things are subiect to their pleasure, which were plaine tyrannie, not Christian soueraigntie: but because all persons, within their dominions, stand bound in lawe, allegiance, and conscience, to obey their pleasure, or to abide their punishment. And Kings themselues, are no way subiect to the controwle, censure, or punishment, of any earthly man, but reserued by speciall prerogative to the most fearefull and righteous iudgement of God, with whome there is no respect of persons. He whose seruants they are, *will beate them with a rod of iron, and breake them in peeces like a potters vessell*, if they abuse that gear, and soueraigne power, (which God hath endued them withall,) to support error, to suppress truth, and to oppresse the innocent. God, of his great mercie, graunt vs the spirit of truth, to direct vs in all loyaltie, that we beeing not seduced by these seditious Sectaries, may growe in grace, stand fast in obedience, embrace loue, follow peace, and encrease more and more in the knowledge of our Lord Iesus Christ. To whom be all praise, power, and dominion now and for euer. Amen.

FINIS.